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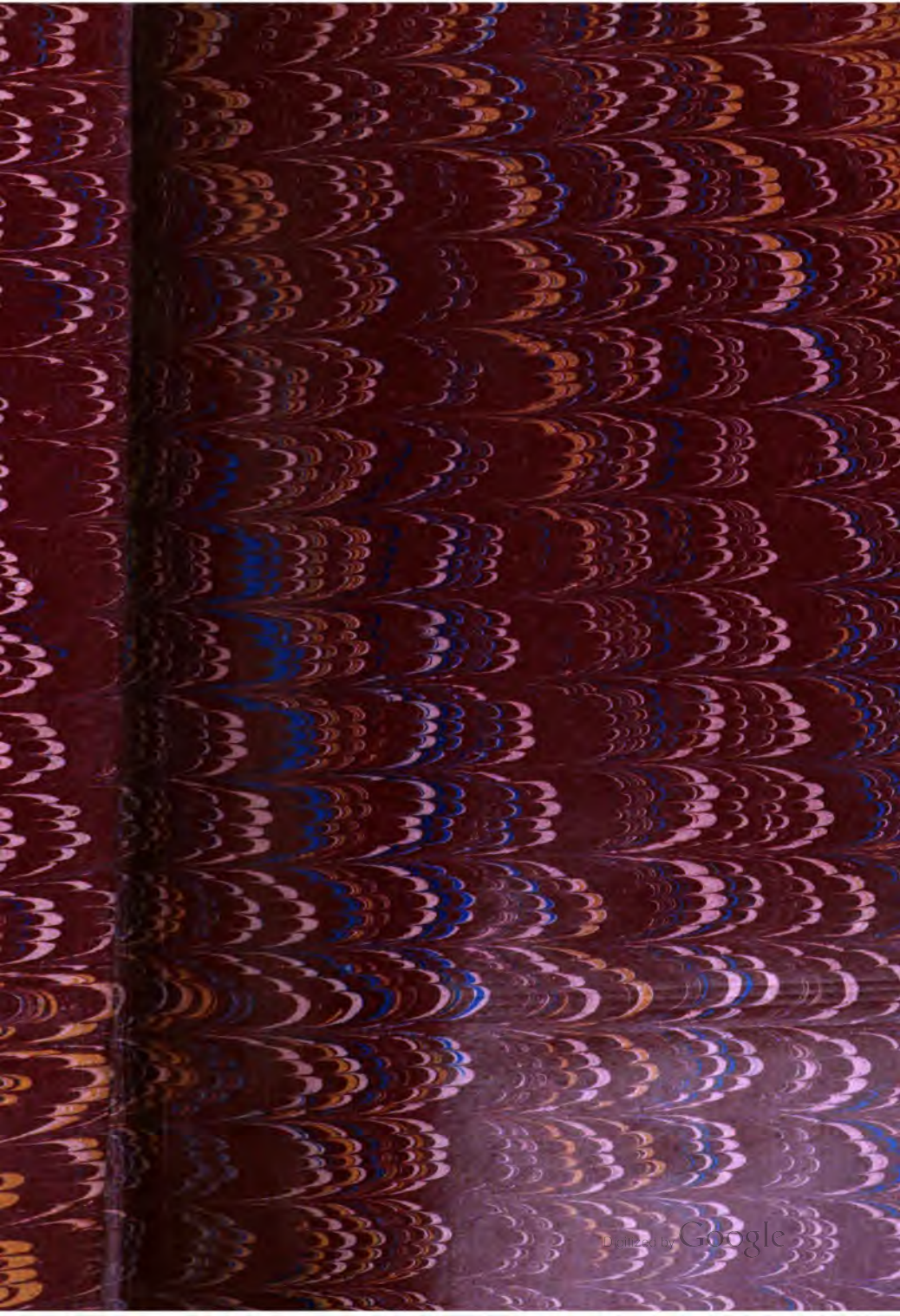
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THE
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THOMAS B. THAYER, D.D., Editor

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CONTENTS.

	Page.
ART. I. MODERN TELEOLOGY.....	5
By Harriet M. Snell.	
ART. II. JOHN THE BAPTIST.....	24
By Rev. R. T. Sawyer.	
ART. III. NEW ORTHODOXY: OR THE TENDENCY OF SIN TO PERMANENCE. Part II.....	31
By Rev. Stephen Crane.	
ART. IV. PREACHING THE GOSPEL TO THE DEAD...	45
By O. D. Miller, S, T. D.	
ART. V. GEORGE MACDONALD AND HIS WRITINGS	54
By Charles L. Simmons.	
ART. VI. THEORIES OF SKEPTICISM — MATERIALISM Part II.....	64
By Wm. Tucker, D.D.	
ART. VII. A UNIVERSAL RELIGION.....	78
By Rev. S. P. Smith.	
ART. VIII. REJOINDER TO DR. MILLER.....	90
By O. Cone, D.D., Pres. of Buchtel College.	
ART. IX. THE JEW — FROM THE MACCABEES TO CHRIST. Part II.....	133
By Rev. A. G. Laurie.	
ART. X. THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD. Part II.	146
By W. E. Manley, D.D.	
ART. XI. THE CREED QUESTION.....	160
Rev. Wm. S. Balch.	
ART. XII. THE GOSPEL OF PERDITION ACCORDING TO JOSEPH COOK.....	179
Rev. O. F Safford.	
ART. XIII. THE RISING OF THE GREEK THEOLOGY	190
Rev. T. C. Druley.	
ART. XIV. METHODISM AS A SENSATION.....	196
By Austin Bierbower.	
ART. XV. THE RELATION OF MEMORY AND CON- SCIENCE.....	209
By Georgianne E. Watson.	
ART. XVI. "THE NEW COVENANT".....	212
By Prof. H. P. Forbes.	

	Page.
ART. XVII. RE-AFFIRMATION OF UNIVERSALIST EX- EGESIS.....	221
By O. D. Miller, D.D.	
ART. XVIII. DIVINE REVELATION.....	161
By Rev. I. C. Knowlton.	
ART. XIX. HAS CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY A BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.....	176
By O. Cone, D.D., Pres. of Buchtel College.	
ART. XX. GENERAL LAWS AND SPECIAL PROVI- DENCE.....	188
By William Tucker, D.D.	
ART. XXI. NEW ORTHODOXY: OR THE TENDENCY OF SIN TO PERMANENCE. Part III.	196
By Rev. Stephen Crane.	
ART. XXII. MISSIONARY WORK, AND THE HIGHEST MOTIVES THERETO.....	213
By Richard Eddy, D.D.	
ART. XXIII. AN OUTLOOK.....	225
By Rev. W. S. Woodbridge.	
ART. XXIV. CHRISTIANITY AND INTELLECTUAL CULTURE.....	233
By J. S. Lee, D.D.	
ART. XXV. THE INTELLECTUAL SUPREMACY OF JESUS CHRIST.....	248
By Chaplain G. Collins, U. S. A.	
ART. XXVI. THE JEW — FROM THE MACCABEES TO CHRIST. Part III.....	389
By Rev. A. G. Laurie.	
ART. XXVII. RALPH WALDO EMERSON AND HOSEA BALLOU.....	405
By Rev. O. F. Safford.	
ART. XXVIII. RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO NORTH AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY.....	416
By Rev. J. P. McLean.	
ART. XXIX. DOES CIVILIZATION CIVILIZE.....	429
By David N. Johnson.	
ART. XXX. THE NAME OF GOD REVEALED TO MOSES	445
By O. D. Miller, D.D.	
ART. XXXI. "THE NEW COVENANT" AND ITS CRITICS	465
By J. W. Hanson, D.D.	
GENERAL REVIEW.....	97, 226, 258, 483

NOTE. — An error occurs in the paging in the July number, which the reader will notice, and will therefore look for Articles XVIII. to XXV. after the first occurrence of page 280.

JAN 5 1884 THE
UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY.

JANUARY, 1884.

THOMAS B. THAYER, D.D., EDITOR.



TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ART. I. MODERN TELEOLOGY,	4
Harriet M. Snell.	
ART. II. JOHN THE BAPTIST,	24
Rev. R. T. Sawyer.	
ART. III. NEW ORTHODOXY: OR THE TENDENCY OF SIN TO PERMANENCE. Part II,	31
Rev. Stephen Crane.	
ART. IV. PREACHING THE GOSPEL TO THE DEAD,	45
O. D. Miller, S.T.D.	
ART. V. GEORGE MACDONALD AND HIS WRITINGS,	54
Charles L. Simmons.	
ART. VI. THEORIES OF SCEPTICISM—MATERIALISM. Part II.	64
Wm. Tucker, D.D.	
ART. VII. A UNIVERSAL RELIGION,	78
Rev. S. P. Smith.	
ART. VIII. REJOINDER TO DR. MILLER,	90
O. Cone, D.D., President of Buchtel College.	
GENERAL REVIEW.	97
Nature and Providence—Catholicism; Its Relations to Education and Morals— Religious World.	
CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.	117
Harris's Philosophical Basis of Theism—Allen's Christian History in its Three Great Periods—Wilson's Foundations of Religious Belief—Hall's Orthodoxy and Heresy in the Christian Church—Schaff's Companion to the Greek Testa- ment and the English Version—Copp's United States Salary List and Civil Ser- vice Law, Rules, etc.—Arius the Libvan—Hopkins's Idea of Man—Pattison's Sonnets of Milton—Briggs's Biblical Study, its Principles, Methods, etc.—Cen- son's "Don't"—The Hymns of Luther; Köstlin's Life of Luther—Oliphant's Little Pilgrim; Phelps's Beyond the Gates; and Wood's The Gates Wide Open— Janet's Theory of Morals—Von Meyer's Organs of Speech—Livermore's What Shall We Do with Our Daughters?—Adams's The Inner Life—Gunnison's Ram- bles Overland—Munger's Lamps and Paths—Living Thoughts; Baldwin's Model Prayer; Means's Golden Truths and Words of Hope. <i>Book Notes on Old Testament Student; The Manhattan; Universalism and Universalists; The Bryant Calendar, etc.</i>	

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The following is the

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

I. WESTWARD HO!	VIII. THE APPROACH TO THE YO SEMITE.
II. THE YELLOWSTONE PARK.	IX. THE YO SEMITE.
III. SAUNTERINGS IN WONDERLAND.	X. THE ORANGE LAND OF CALIFORNIA.
IV. A FIFTY MILE WALK.	XI. ACROSS THE DESERT.
V. OVER THE ROCKIES BY STAGE.	XII. A MEXICAN DETOUR.
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UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY

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GENERAL REVIEW.

ARTICLE I.

Modern Teleology.

PHILOSOPHERS of all schools have practically agreed upon one fundamental fact as the basis of metaphysical speculation—the existence of a First Cause. However much theories may have differed in regard to its essence, the fact of a First Cause, in some form or other, has been scarcely questioned. Only in the Positivism of Comte do we find any exception. Here the idea of law replaced the idea of cause. But such a system can hardly be called a philosophy. It is rather a plea for the scientific method. It ignores any question as to the origin of the laws which science discovers. Yet at best Positivism was short-lived and had few followers, and even Spencerian Agnosticism diverges from it at this point. “We cannot think at all about the impressions which the external world produces on us, without thinking of them as caused, and we cannot carry out our inquiry concerning their causation without inevitably committing ourselves to the hypothesis of a First Cause” (First Principles, p. 37). And again says Mr. Spencer, “We are no more able to form a circumscribed idea of Cause than of Space or Time; and we are consequently

obliged to think of the Cause, which transcends the limits of our thought, as positive though indefinite" (F. P., p. 93).

We are justified, then, in taking this common point as a centre from which the wide-reaching speculations of countless philosophies have sought the circumference of truth.

Whether the belief in cause and effect is a primary necessity of human thought, or the result of the experience of the race, the fact remains that every mind does ask for the cause of an event, from the simplest occurrence of daily life to the revolution of the earth on its axis, from the revolution of the earth itself to the origin of a revolving universe. Theism finds this cause in self-existent mind; Materialism in self-existent matter; Pantheism in the all-pervading essence; Agnosticism in the Unknowable Something. Still all these systems agree upon the fundamental fact that *something* is, however much they may disagree as to *what* that something is. Shall we grant with the Materialist that matter has qualities so unique as to warrant us in asserting that it is sufficient to produce law, harmony, and mind? Shall we assume with the Pantheist that the attributes of mind and matter, are the attributes of the immanent essence, that material phenomena and the God of our reason are one? Or shall we say with the Theist, that admitting the existence of a First Cause, we are justified, from the universality of law, in affirming intelligence as an attribute of this Cause?

Much criticism upon the theistic argument from adaptation is based upon a wrong conception of its scope. It is no real objection to this argument that it is only a "carpenter theory." All that we can hope to prove by it is that God arranges, plans, designs the universe. Nor is it an objection that, reasoning from a finite universe, it cannot prove an infinite Creator. This is giving to the teleological argument the burden of responsibility belonging to entirely different logical processes. This argument is not advanced to prove the existence or the infinity of a God. That belongs to the Ontological or Cosmological argument. Nor does it prove the moral qualities of the First Cause. The argument for the Divine intelli-

gence logically succeeds the argument for the Divine existence, and precedes the argument for the moral qualities of the Divine Being. Only after the intelligence of the First Cause has been proved is it possible to prove the moral attributes of the First Cause.

The argument for Mind, then, can be separated logically from the arguments for Existence, Infinity, and Benevolence. We call it the *modern* teleological argument, although, in the phraseology of Mr. Hicks, in his "Critique of Design-Arguments," it is eutaxiological. We are not, however, satisfied that the distinction between eutaxiology and teleology is radical, since the authority for this distinction lies in such a separation of will and intelligence as good psychology does not warrant.

In considering, then, the scientific value of the modern teleological argument, we can free the discussion from many of its metaphysical complications, and limit ourselves to the simple question well formulated by Physicus: "Are the facts of mind and matter of such a nature that they compel us to affirm intelligence of the First Cause, of the Something, the entity in which we must all believe?"

That the adaptation of means to ends is an attribute of intelligence, is a truth which has become an axiom. Every one knows that an author has a thought before he pens the words which convey it. Every one believes that the artist has an idea which precedes the grouping of figures and the harmonizing of colors expressing the idea. This idea, then, in the language of the schools, is the "final cause" of the picture. Although there are some well founded objections to the term, "final cause," the fact that it has been used with varying meanings, is a criticism against those employing the term rather than against the term itself. Some technical word is necessary to express the meaning of "thought," or "idea," as distinct from its material expression, and, if we limit the term to this meaning it cannot be confusing. The final cause, then, is the thought which precedes the picture. It is the idea directing the power which selects the material,

chooses the colors, and guides the brush. Over the kingdom of efficient causes the idea, though invisible and intangible, rules with regal sway. All these efficient causes, — the canvas, the paint, the implements, the moving force, — without which the picture could not exist, are obedient subjects of the kingly idea. If the picture could not exist without the action of material causes, neither could the action of material causes take place without an idea to guide the action.

This does not make the effect precede the cause, as some declare. It does not make the picture precede the materials composing it. The idea, the design, the purpose, do precede, but these are not the picture. They are only the guiding force. There is the same difference between the thought, in the mind of the artist, and its embodied form, as there always is between the ideal and its material expression. In art the means are chosen which shall best express the ideal. But this ideal is a purely mental product, and it can only be inferred by examining the finished work. In science, observation suggests the idea which by experiment is expressed in a form for practical use. Here, too, the idea, the thought, which can only be inferred from the completed whole, is the guiding force. The ideal in art and the idea in science, then, are creations of mind. Their existence, though real, is purely psychical, and remains so even after they have found material expression. That the idea and its embodied form are forever distinct does not admit of dispute. The design bears invariably the same relation to the action of efficient causes, that the action of efficient causes bears to the result. That this proportion is complete, that there is an idea preceding the action of material causes forming the world, remains to be proved.

The question then arises, — Is there anything in the universe which leads us to believe that the effects everywhere visible are produced through the agency of material causes guided by a pre-existent idea? The question of the origin of these causes does not belong here. We are not discussing the omnipotence of God. We are concerned only with the intelligence of God.

In searching for some general principle which shall sum up for us the facts of the universe, the one which presents itself most strikingly, is the all-pervading reign of law. That the same consequent results from the same antecedent under the same circumstances, is a commonplace of science. It is the beginning and the end of science. It expresses and circumscribes the whole duty of the scientist. When he leaves the domain of natural law, and relinquishes the search for material causes, he abandons the sphere of natural science, and intrudes upon the realm of metaphysics.

But there are laws of mind as well as of matter, although the study of these laws belongs to a different department of science. Universal validity, however, is affirmed as strongly and as consistently of these laws as of the laws of matter. If law is an expression of material necessity, it is also an expression of psychical necessity. If law tells us that steam moves the engine with unwearied speed from shore to shore, so does it also tell us that association of ideas moves the trains of our thoughts, with darting speed, from world to world.

With the possible exception of one of the functions of the mind, the will, psychical laws are universal and unalterable. But practically this is not an exception, since the will has unique laws of its own. The argument, nevertheless, would not be affected should we admit that the will is an exception to the universality of law; for what we wish to prove is not that law is everywhere, but that design is everywhere.

We say that design, the adaptation of means to ends, is an attribute of intelligence, but these designs are wholly carried out by the exertion of the will. The will is the very power by which our purposes are accomplished. A man plans a picture, a poem, a system of philosophy, and the will is the moving force which gives his thought expression. Design, then, is exactly co-extensive with the will. But law and the action of the will in man, account for all the phenomena of the universe. Design is co-extensive with the will. If, now, we can show that there is anything in law which implies design, purpose, end, we prove that design is also co-extensive with law; that

design is universal ; and that it has its origin in an ultimate, intelligent Will which acts as the guiding force in the world.

What is the relation of Law to Design ? Does a scientific analysis warrant the assertion, as a fact of science, that Law exists, and can exist, only as it is an expression of Design ?

Law is not a tangible thing which can be seen, or felt, or tasted. It is a relation, a mode of action. It is a fact that fire will burn wood. Law determines the action of the efficient causes, wood and fire. Bring the causes together and law predicts the effect. Law tells us what result may be expected from the contact of certain chemicals. It tells us that a body in motion has a tendency to remain in motion. In a word, law is the unchanging mode of action of efficient causes. Have these two facts, law and design, any characteristic in common which compels us to affirm that the one is co-extensive with the other ? Are design and law different facts, or obverse sides of one fact ?

The essential characteristic of the final cause, the pre-existent idea, is its constructive power, its guiding force. It selects the material and adapts the parts *for the sake* of the future result. This future result, the embodied form, becomes thus the object, to accomplish which the final cause, the design, chooses, plans, and arranges the material. To accomplish this object, to give an idea an embodied form, to put the thought in the picture, the idea in the machine, the forces of efficient causes are used as means to the end. The inventor of the electric light uses a battery to carry out his design. There are, then, three distinct conditions necessary for every production — the idea, which is psychical, the means, which are physical, and the object, which is to give an idea a material expression. Final cause, therefore, wherever we find it, transforms cause and effect into means and end. Is the same true of law ? Is there any reason for believing that through law materials are adjusted *for the sake* of the future result ? Do the planets revolve in their orbits because the force of gravity exists ? Or does the force of gravity exist *in order* to keep the planets in their orbits ? If the latter is true, it is

evident that the force of gravity is the means employed to carry out this design. Cause and effect converted into means and end must, therefore, be the basis on which law is identified with design.

To say that law is invariable is mere tautology. Invariability is law. Regular succession of phenomena is law. Although the whole meaning of the term is condensed into either of these words — invariability, regularity,—yet law regarded in the light of a regular production of the same result, assumes a new phase. This phase indicates that behind the law exists the mind.

A single action implies little in regard to the object of the action, but the regular recurrence of these actions implies a fixed purpose. Regularity characterizes all the operations of man. His presence at the office, the studio, the library, all imply a conscious design. A single obstruction on a railway may be accidental, but several successive obstructions renders the inference of a purpose legitimate. A person may walk in a certain direction with no special reason, but the daily walk in this direction implies a fixed purpose. In the realm of design, then, regularity implies an intention in relation to a future result, an intention of carrying out some idea to gain an end. Yet all science, indeed, all human actions are based on the assumption of the uniformity of nature's laws. The very fact that the same effect always does result from the action of the same causes under the same circumstances, indicates that the effect was a designed effect. The very fact that the force of gravity always *does* keep the planets in their orbits indicates, not that the planets keep their places because the force is there, but that the force of gravity existed for the express purpose of guiding the planets.

The idea which is the guiding force of human actions suggests that something of like nature is the guiding force of invariable law. The same regularity which in human actions implies purpose, mind, in law implies something analogous to mind.

Yet there is another phase in the aspect of law which does

more than imply the mind behind it. It proves that mind must be behind it. Thus far the analogy between law and design has been found to lie in the fact that law compels the same future event to follow the action of the same efficient causes, while design makes these efficient causes *means* to bring about the future event. The existence of efficient causes, then, is absolutely necessary in both law and design. In design they form the middle term in the series, idea, means and end. In law they are the necessary conditions preceding the corresponding effects. The action and reaction of efficient causes is a consequent of law. The bringing together of these efficient causes so that the action will take place, is the means by which the idea receives an embodied form. The mode of action of the forces producing the ocean tides is governed by law. The mode of action of the forces producing the statue is governed by design. Yet the existence of both the ocean tides and the statue is dependent upon the action of efficient causes. The statue demands an idea for a guiding force. Do not the ocean tides also demand an idea for a guiding force?

The fact that the same causes are brought together and made to produce the same effect, that the action of law is uniform, is itself a principle, a law, which demands explanation. But the only possible grounds of this uniformity are found in the agency of chance, or the properties of matter, or the action of mind. The forces forming the brain unite in making it the organ of thought, and only chance, matter, or mind, can be responsible for the combination of their forces. Whatever the darkness which envelops their union, the unvarying result — thought — can be traced to no other sources. To chance, matter, or mind, then, we shall look for our explanation of the order and harmony in the world of mind and matter, for an explanation of the uniformity of law.

To affirm that the combination of the atoms producing the universe, with all the grand uniformity of nature's laws, is the product of chance, is to affirm what few atheists or anti-theists of the present day would care to defend. Even Physicus himself banishes this hypothesis, and declares that the

alternatives are not Chance and God, but Force and God. It is a time-honored argument that it would be impossible to produce a poem by throwing together the letters of the alphabet, even if the throws were infinite in number. Yet, however convincing in popular acceptance, this argument has given place to the more philosophical reason that chance itself is governed by law. But law, here as elsewhere, must be explained. In the primordial state the chances of order in the combination of atoms forming the world, were to the chances of disorder as one is to the possible number of combinations. The doctrine of chance, therefore, requires us to believe that the world happened to take its present orderly form out of infinite possibilities of disorder. By common consent the doctrine of chance is set aside.

For the origin of the uniformity of law, the ground of orderly combination, we must look, then, to the properties of matter or to the agency of mind.

If we give to matter this power of producing order, of always forming the same result from the same combination of forces, we have a right to ask what this attractive force is which draws the atoms together so that they form efficient causes — causes which are always uniform in their effects. What is the property by which matter spontaneously combined in such proportions that a revolving world and thinking men were produced?

To say that matter comes together in right proportions through its own peculiar nature, is to say that fire burns because it does. Grant that the atoms of the brain-cells have the property of producing thought by motion; yet the orderly arrangement of the atoms is still unexplained. When we consider the combination of causes in the eye alone, we give to matter a property of mind, in affirming that it is capable of getting itself together in such a shape that it *does* produce sight. It may be a property of the different parts of the eye, when combined, to produce sight, but disregarding the agency of mind, the parts happened to come together in the right proportions, or matter itself has an attractive force which

works for an end. To assert the former is to revert to the old doctrine of chance; and to assert the latter is to beg the question. If we discard chance we must admit that law is uniform in action *for the sake* of producing an orderly world. An orderly world thus becomes the object of this uniformity of action, whether this object has a conscious existence in mind, or an unconscious existence in matter. The final cause, therefore, is present, whatever its source.

Between chance and finality, then, there is no middle ground. It takes an exact adjustment of parts to produce the eye. To say that matter, from the millions upon millions of combinations offered, spontaneously took one which produced sight, is to say that matter itself, in taking this form, did so for the sake of the sight.

No one would defend the doctrine of chance, yet few realize that the moment we discard it we must adopt finality. The moment we admit that chance could not produce an orderly world, we admit that the combination of atoms which did produce an orderly world is chosen for the sake of an orderly world. Let us not disguise finality, and refuse to recognize it under its mask. If it was a property of matter to choose a combination which produced the present world, the finality is there, whatever be the character or name of this finality.

We allow, it will be said, that in discarding the doctrine of chance, we admit the existence of finality. We admit that matter, in taking spontaneously the combination which produced sight acted as if sight was the object for which the parts were combined. We admit all this, but we still maintain that this very power is a property inherent in matter. Call it finality if you like. Say that matter combined for the sake of the sight, yet what right have we to say that because finality is known to us in connection with conscious intelligence, that finality in matter must be due to the same source?

Since design is co-extensive with the will, and since the uniformity of law could not be due to chance, we have found that design, purpose, finality, exist everywhere. But is the finality exhibited in the uniformity of law the same in kind as the

finality exhibited in the actions springing from the will ? The designs which characterize the actions of man are known to spring from self-conscious intelligence. To what source shall we ascribe the finality which we have shown to characterize matter ?

Finality in matter is due to a conscious force, or an unconscious force. There is no alternative. In choosing the latter, however, we are adopting the theory of Hartmann. Here the will, posited by Schopenhauer as the substance of mind and matter, is combined with the reason or intelligence posited by Hegel as the substance of all being, and we have as a result, the union of will and intelligence for the groundwork of all existence. But, since Hartmann regards consciousness as the result of the organism, consciousness cannot exist without an organism. This intelligent will, therefore, the source of all being, is unconscious. The operations of nature, then, are conducted as intelligence would conduct them, but the intelligence is not self-conscious. It is aware of neither means nor end. It is not even aware of its own activity.

The logic here can hardly be called indisputable, however, since it has never yet been proved that consciousness depends altogether upon the organism. It has never been shown that matter and motion are actually transmuted into perception, memory, imagination, thought.

But for the sake of the argument, let us admit that there is an unconscious intelligence immanent in the universe ; that it is the all-pervading essence, while all differences are transitory ; that it is the one reality, while all else is phenomenal ; that it is the perfection of existence, the Absolute, the Uncaused. The gem, the flower, the sunset, are all transformations of this substance. The statue, the picture, the poem, are all appearances put on by the Unconscious. But, having assumed such an existence, we must inquire whether this cause—unconscious intelligence—is capable of producing all these effects, self-conscious mind as well as an orderly universe.

If finality in nature is due to unconscious intelligence, if the parts of the eye come together with the purpose of pro-

ducing sight but without being aware of this purpose, this finality must be due to a power somewhat analogous to the instinct of animals. Instinct works for ends without being in the least aware of the fact. The spider weaves its web, the bee gathers its honey, with no conscious design. If the action of matter forms the eye as the bird builds its nest, matter, like the bird, has a power of working for ends which are unknown to itself. When we say that matter forms the world according to design, but is not conscious of that design, we say that the present world is the result of instinct. But modern science regards instinct as only a lower form of intelligence. Instinct is only a tendency to adapt the organism to surrounding circumstances. A change in the environment produces a change in the habits of the animal. Whatever the origin of the primary instincts, their whole development is determined by the surroundings and by the laws of heredity. At best, instinct—unconscious intelligence—is governed by the circumstances, while reason—conscious will—has some control over circumstances. Instinct is moulded by external forces, intelligence is moulded by both external and internal forces. Unconscious intelligence, then, is a lower form of existence than conscious intelligence.

It is a well known principle that an effect cannot be greater than its cause. We can conceive of conscious intelligence creating conscious intelligence; but we cannot conceive of unconscious force creating conscious force. The one is capable of producing the effect, the other is not. In our search for a First Cause we are seeking one that is capable of accounting for all the facts—conscious mind as well as unconscious matter. Here we have, in an unconscious intelligence as cause, an hypothesis which does not explain all the phenomena. In the scientific world every such hypothesis is cast aside. The superiority of intelligence to instinct measures the inability of unconscious intelligence to account for conscious intelligence.

But by denying intelligence to this unconscious force, we might assume with Schopenhauer, that the will alone is an

adequate cause of all being. However much may be said in defence of will, or blind force, ruling the universe, it still remains true that the will to do necessitates the conscious choice.

We have already regarded will as a moving force, not as a guiding force. Although design is co-extensive with the will, the will did not originate the design. Will alone could not act as intelligent will would act. To say that will can act without intelligence is to say that will can act without a motive. This is impossible, and the motive itself necessitates knowledge which shall determine the motive. But since we have shown that finality is everywhere in the world, and since finality, design, purpose, is an attribute of nothing but intelligence, the final cause certainly could not derive its existence from the will alone, a source which has neither conscious nor unconscious intelligence.

We see, then, that the will, or the force, or the power, whatever its name, which works in the universe, through causes arranged as intelligence would arrange them, must be guided by intelligence, and by a self-conscious intelligence.

We have found that man uses the action of efficient causes as means for an end. We have seen, too, that the uniformity of law indicates that the effect of the action of efficient causes was a designed effect. But the further proof that the finality in matter can only be due to conscious mind reveals the fact that through law, efficient causes, the term common to both design and law, always become means for an end. It declares that as the designs of man are due to intelligent will, the uniformity of nature's laws must also be due to an intelligent will. It shows that not only does final cause depend upon the action of efficient causes, but that the action of efficient causes themselves must be determined by mind. The picture is the result of human agency, the flower is the result of super-human agency. Design is the expression of human intelligence. Law is the expression of Divine Intelligence.

In following a line of argument which proves that finality is universal, and in afterwards showing that this finality in matter must be due to conscious intelligence, we have already

deprived of their force many objections to the argument from design. To say that nature need not follow the same method in her works as man does in his, is hardly a valid objection to the intelligence of the Creator. That it is an argument from analogy is true. That the argument from analogy is frequently very questionable is also true. Yet, on the other hand, practically, many of our most positive inferences are derived in this way, and can be derived in no other way. The only evidence we have of the intelligence of our fellow-men rests upon an argument from analogy. The one mind of which we have an immediate knowledge is our own. The works of other men lead us to *infer* that intelligence is the source, but we have no immediate knowledge of their intelligence. The more accurate the thought displayed in the book, the higher do we rank the intellect of the author. The same analogy which convinces us of the intelligence of our fellow-men exists to convince us of the intelligence of the First Cause. The world of science, literature, and art, convinces us of the intelligence of man; the universe of created matter, harmony, and law, convinces us of the intelligence of God.

Another objection to the argument from design, however, is advanced by those who maintain that the search for final causes hinders science, and turns attention from the study of efficient causes. This may be true. It is true. But it is just as true that science, in searching for final causes, is overstepping her boundaries. We ask science *how* the force of gravity acts. We do not expect science to tell us *why* the force of gravity exists. Efficient causes alone are the objects with which science is concerned. Final causes belong to an entirely different line of investigation. Moreover the inability to point out the final cause is no sign that it does not exist.

When, however, Mr. Mill says that intelligence implies contrivance, and that intelligence, consequently, implies a limitation of power, he formulates an objection often urged against the argument from design. The criticism applies, however, to the nature of the intelligence, not to the existence of intelligence. Although this objection applied to the present ar-

gument is irrelevant, it still remains true that Mr. Mill overlooks the fact that will can choose. That the controlling will could accomplish its purpose by adaptation of means to ends as well as by direct fiat, does not seem to have occurred to him. If we grant the existence of design, we grant also that the possibility of fulfilling this design rests upon the alternative, direct fiat or the use of means and end. Why the Divine power did not decree instant perfection to the human race is no concern of ours. We only know that from the possible alternate the Divine Will did choose to use means to accomplish the end.

Again, when Mr. Mill says that discord and disorder are evidences of a less admirable contrivance, he assumes either that the means are not suitable to the design, or that the design is not what it should be. But what are the data which justify us in assuming the one or the other — in declaring that the means are inadequate, or the design imperfect? We have not attempted to prove that some particular design exists in this created world. We have merely maintained that design of some sort does exist. The character of the design we have not even tried to show. The argument is concerned only with the intelligence of God, not with His moral qualities. Yet, even after following a different logical process and demonstrating a benevolent God, it is evident that we should not set up a particular design *a priori*, and then, finding facts opposed to our theory, declare that the means are not sufficient to accomplish the end. The shot which aims to destroy the evidence of design is wide of the mark when it hits, instead, the means of accomplishing the design.

But here comes the evolutionist with his mass of nebular mist condensed into shape by the action of an incident force. He attacks the historic arguments, and deems them vanquished at a single blow. Scarcely does he glance at the battle-ground, not even does he care to re-inforce his position, when, suddenly, he finds himself powerless. His ammunition has only served to increase the strength of the enemy.

Grant that evolution is the method of creation ; grant that

the primitive nebula is only thus far on the way to regain its primitive form ; grant, too, that an infinite number of nebulae are undergoing the same transformations, and that this present world, a phase merely in the cycle of the nebular curve, has an infinite number of worlds antedating the present cycle and a corresponding number to succeed ; grant all this, yet is it any easier to conceive of an eternal rhythm of worlds proceeding with undisturbed order, unguided by intelligence, than to conceive of the evolution of a single world, when the data assumed are not sufficient to explain its existence ?

By evolution we understand that a more perfect phase of being is the outcome of one less perfect. This proceeds on the theory of the Persistence of Force. Evolution is based on this as a principle demonstrated by physics. But evolution does not explain why force should persist in one form rather than in another. Does this remove the necessity of some guiding force which shall cause the development to take place in the right direction ?

But, it will be said, suppose that evolution, by whatever course it might take, would always produce beings, not just like us, perhaps, with the five senses and knowledge of extension in three dimensions, but beings equally worthy of respect, although their seven senses enabled them to perceive extension in four dimensions. That beings of another order may exist can neither be affirmed nor denied. Yet we maintain that the evolution of organized beings of any order whatever is a phenomenon absolutely certain only on the ground that causes shall be uniform in their effects.

Creation by evolution offers the same alternative as creation by any other theory. This alternative is chance and finality. There is no middle ground. The action of efficient causes—the common basis of law and design—depends upon like combinations of matter. In holding a doctrine of chance the same absurdities are involved here as elsewhere, and the same argument which attributes finality in matter to conscious intelligence attributes finality in the evolution of matter to conscious intelligence.

It is a part of the theory of evolution, however, that development is determined by outside influences, that the environment, by means of natural selection, moulds matter into fitting forms. But adaptations exist, nevertheless. They are only removed one step. If the parts of matter contain no internal principle of order, the external influences, at least, must contain some principle of order. If uniform results are obtained, the forces producing these results, wherever they are found, internally or externally, must possess finality. Adaptations, therefore, exist somewhere; and adaptation demands intelligence.

This answers also another objection arising from the modern definition of intelligence. Intelligence is defined as the adaptation of inner relations to outer relations. If we admit this definition, we admit also that the intelligence of the First Cause itself is a product of evolution. We must here, with the scientist, appeal to fact. Is intelligence merely the adaptation of inner relations to outer relations? Is not the power of adapting inner relations to outer relations the very thing to be explained? This internal something is the essence of intelligence. It is that in which intelligence consists. Moreover, by a First Cause we mean a cause producing everything—the whole universe. There can be no outer relations, then, since anything outside of the First Cause would be uncaused. We cannot affirm that the force producing electricity is the only existent force. Neither can we affirm that a developed intelligence is the only existent intelligence. Our intelligence may admit of evolution, and the influence of our surroundings may be immeasurable, but the First Cause can be compassed by no environment. Thus our intelligence, though the same in kind as that of the Creator, must differ infinitely in degree, since the external as well as the internal influences which guide our development are in the hands of God.

But, says the Agnostic, even if evolution and the persistence of force do not adequately explain the universe, neither does any other theory. We know nothing absolutely. The constitution of our minds permits us to know nothing but the

relative. The Absolute, whose very existence is necessary to the existence of the relative, is forever unknowable. Matter, motion, life, and mind, are only appearances. The reality is beyond our grasp. That there is something back of all phenomena, that there is a substance in the diamond, the rose, the idea, our minds constantly affirm, but what that substance is our minds are utterly unable to comprehend.

The whole theory of agnosticism stands or falls on the meaning of the words, "realization in thought." If by them we mean a pictured image, if by them we mean that to think "rose" is to form a mental picture of a rose, to think "virtue" is to picture virtue, to think "God" is to picture God, we are agnostics. A theory of the concept, however, which admits pure thought, which declares that we know what we mean by the word "infinity," even if we cannot picture infinity, that we know what we mean by "square triangle" even if we cannot think of it as existing, is a theory on which the mists of agnosticism vanish; the dark and unknown Something, though not revealed in all its fullness, becomes illumined with light.

The relativity of knowledge, moreover, forms an asylum for all questions interfering with a theory of the universe deduced from *a priori* grounds. But the relativity of knowledge applies also with equal force to the agnostic's own argument. "If," says a critic of Mr. Spencer, "we examine his philosophy of the Unknown, we shall find that it is through a very definite and logical process that the predication of the unknowability of the Unknown is made. The Unknown is known to possess certain attributes because of which it is unknown and unknowable. The very argument assumes the infinity of the Unknown." And again, "If Agnosticism is science, it condemns the metaphysics of evolution as grossly unscientific; for it condemns impartially every human statement of a fact, or a necessity outside of human thought."

Agnosticism not only establishes itself on the very grounds from which it drives its foes by denying them the use of the self-same weapons by means of which it makes good its stand,

but in addition it accuses the theist of an irreverence from which the agnostic starts back aghast. Why should we worship the human attributes — intelligence, will, love? “Why is such idolatry any better than that of wood or stone?” says one. In solemn awe, rather, let us approach the shrine, and render mute adoration to “Something” of which it is an insult to affirm intelligence, a contradiction to ascribe will-power, and blasphemy to attribute love.

We might as well say—yes, we do say—give us the senseless stone. If we must worship, if it is a part of nature to worship, and if the highest attributes known to mind are such that they cannot co-exist in the Divine Being, give us, then, the stone. That, at least, can be seen by human eyes.

But is it not better to admit that the primary principles of thought, the principles which compel our minds to think in one way rather than in another, which force us to assert that “a thing cannot both be and not be at the same time,” are eternal principles; that they are the principles under which the First Cause itself retains its self-consistency? Let us say that the gem of truth given us in the structure of our minds is a gem many sparkles of which are obscured in the evolution of its setting, but which, undimmed and unending, glitter in the perfect light of the Divine understanding.

If we cannot know all, let us admit the little we can know. If we cannot conceive the highest attributes of the Creator, let us admit that somewhere in the unsearchable depths of His being exist the highest attributes known to us, the attributes without which God would not be God.

After our reason tells us that there is a Being all-powerful, all-knowing, all-loving, let faith, doing her perfect work, give us a God whose wonder, glory and majesty “eye hath not seen nor ear heard.”

Harriet M. Snell.

ARTICLE II.

John the Baptist.

WE enter the season when the Christian world celebrates the birth of the Saviour. It may be with interest and profit that we dwell on some of the conditions which environed the people to whom the advent was made. In so doing our attention is specially directed toward the bold herald, John the Baptist,—the “voice in the wilderness preparing the way.” Though the divine glory first shone in the darkness and the darkness comprehended it not, it is probable that our appreciation of Christ is heightened as we understand the customs and intellectual life that distinguished the peculiar people to whom the divine glory was made manifest.

Both sacred and secular writers lend assistance in the study of this remarkable man, the worthy successor of Isaiah and Elijah, at once the last and greatest in the grand procession of Israel's prophets. Of priestly descent, the son of Zacharias and Elizabeth, he shared from youth the advantages of the house of Levi.

When John was born Palestine was subject to priestly rule. According to the Talmud there were no less than twenty-four thousand priests in Jerusalem and vicinity, chiefly maintained by the offerings of the people. The theory of priestly succession was searching. Genealogy must be established, and the candidate must be of perfect form of body and possess the requisite accomplishments in the Jewish law. At the age of six years every child was instructed in the Hebrew Scriptures. When he was ten he was supposed capable of receiving the higher instruction from the celebrated doctors of the law. The people had ceased to speak to any extent the Hebrew language. From the time when Alexander swept through Palestine, and made the sacred land tributary to the Grecian Empire, the people gradually acquired the vernacular of their masters until Hellenic Greek was everywhere spoken.¹

¹ “Our nation look on this sort of accomplishment” (viz., the pursuit of learning and

The Pharisees had become the dominant religious sect, though it is evident from the trial of Jesus and that of Paul that Sadducees were included in the great court of the Sanhedrin. From the Pharisees rose a distinct order which in the estimate of every Hebrew was invested with special sanctity. This was the order of Rabbis. By the common assent of the people its members held all the offices of note under the hierarchy. They accepted only their maintenance. The order was popular, from being open to any of merit. To speak in disrespect of a Rabbi was to invoke divine vengeance. He had only to enter a house, and peace was supposed to visit the family. In all matters he must be consulted. Though a student of the law he was chiefly occupied with tradition.

Apart from the rabbis there were twenty-four courses or families of priests. Their duties pertained more particularly to the temple service, in which the rabbis took no part. Among the one hundred and forty conditions of priestly qualification was that which required the candidate to be of blameless moral character. Prophetic denunciation, however, leaves no room to doubt the corruption of this ecclesiastical aristocracy. To distinguish from those who were insincere and unworthy, the Record is careful to state of the aged priest Zacharias of Hebrón, and his wife Elizabeth, that "they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless."

speaking Greek) "as common not only to all sorts of freemen, but to as many of the servants as please to learn them." Josephus' *Antiquity of Jews* xx. xi. 2.

"It was as little permitted that the hated Gentile should learn the Hebrew language or read the Law. St. Jerome expatiates on the trouble and cost he had at Jerusalem and Bethlehem to get a Jew to help him in his Hebrew studies." Geike's "Life of Christ," i. p. 87.

"Ever since the days of Alexander the Great, alike in the contact of Jews with Ptolemies and with Seleucids, Hellenic influences had been at work in Palestine. Greek was, indeed, the common medium of intercourse, and without it Jesus could have had no conversation with strangers,—with the centurion, for instance, whose servant he healed; or with Pilate, or with the Greeks who desired an interview with him in the last week of his life." Farrar's "Life of Christ," i. p. 42.

"The Jews came in contact with the Greeks only at and after the Macedonian conquests, and were, therefore, conversant only with the later Greek. They learned it from the intercourse of life, in commerce, in colonies, in cities like Alexandria, where the inhabitants were drawn together from Asia as well as from Greece; and it was, therefore, the spoken language of common life. . . . The Jewish Greek has not unsaply been termed Hellenistic." Dr. Robinson, Preface to *Gr. Lex.*, p. 8.

Filling the priestly office in his course of the temple service, the devout Zacharias engages in prayer, when the angel Gabriel announces to him that he is to be the father of the herald-prophet. Unable to master his doubt, he is made speechless until the message is fulfilled in the birth of the child, who is named John. The father prophesies the delivery of Israel, and that his son shall go before the face of the Lord to prepare his way. With concise statement we are then told that "the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, and was in the deserts till the day of his shewing unto Israel."

For men to voluntarily assume the life of a recluse in Palestine and other parts of the world, was no uncommon spectacle. Speaking of this in connection with those sects eminent for self-denial and piety, Josephus says, "When sixteen years old I contented myself with hard fare, underwent great difficulties and went through them all. When I was informed that one whose name was Banus lived in the desert and used no other clothing than grew upon trees, and had no other food than what grew of its own accord, and bathed himself in cold water frequently, both night and day, in order to preserve his chastity, I imitated him in these things and continued with him three years."

At what time John became an ascetic we have no means of knowing. It is evident that for many years before his public appearance in a prophetic character he was a lone tenant of the wilderness. The son of Zacharias would enjoy high privileges of instruction from one of the most faithful of the Hebrews; and as the law enjoined obedience to parents, it becomes highly probable that the son remained at the Hebron home until his maturity, gaining all the law and the prophets, and being taught the sacred traditions so far as a foremost priest of the house of Levi and a lineal descendant of Aaron was able to give them, as well as receiving the records of antiquity as preserved by secular historians. Roman law recognized the majority of males when twenty-five years of age, and as Judea was now in the empire of Tiberius this may have been the date at which John became a recluse. We know

that he was six months older than Jesus, who began his ministry when thirty years of age. This estimate would allow John a residence in the wilderness of five and a half years.

The period marked a crisis in the world's history. By the highest functionaries of the Roman court social abominations were practiced with open insolence. Pride, greed and lust were given utmost license. The nation was profaned. The country was the spoils of a shameless dynasty. The preceding century had chronicled atrocious crimes. The wars of the Maccabees, of the brothers Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and the coming of Pompey and the Roman horde to desecrate with their presence the Holy of holies,—forbidden all but the high priest; all this was fresh in the minds of those who in faith waited for the consolation of Israel. Cæsar had given control of the east to Antony, who became the willing tool of the fair and voluptuous Cleopatra. Then followed the murder of all whom Cleopatra denounced; Herod's flight from Jerusalem, which became the prey of plunderers; his return under Roman protection; his unholy marriage with Mariamne; the slaughter of his enemies and the selling of many of the inhabitants of cities and towns as slaves; and lastly came the infamous reign of Herod who murdered both his wife and sons. The principal of the rabbis, his most formidable enemies, he strangled. Surely, there was an extreme demand for the exhortation, "Repent ye."

The wilderness of Judea could have been only the region lying between the Judean mountains and the brackish waters of the Dead Sea, extending nearly as far north as Jerusalem and to the desert on the south. Four streams carry the waters of springs through vast gorges in chalk and limestone. The mountains abound in natural caverns. In this solitary region lived the coming prophet in solemn communion with nature and God, subsisting on locusts and wild honey, and drinking the pure waters of the hillsides. Self discipline achieved he at length lifts his voice in the presence of the people, exclaiming, "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." His face is bronzed from the exposure of the mountains and

the arid heat of the desert plains. His garment is made of camel's hair and bound to his person with a leathern girdle.

This austere man is invested with a remarkable power. Multitudes from Galilee, Samaria and Judea resort to him. Clear and unflinching before Pharisee and Sadducee he exposes the iniquities of the hour. The cold formalist was not soothed by soft words, but was saluted by the sharp inquiry, "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?" Then accepting their presence as an indication of their desire to heed his teaching, he said, "Bring forth, therefore, fruits meet for repentance." The people heard, were convicted, and the beginning of a new life was signalled by baptism in the waters of Jordan. But this was only the preparation for a greater message and ministry, for as John led his disciples into Jordan he said, "I indeed baptize you with water, but he that cometh after me is mightier than I; whose shoe latchet I am not worthy to unloose: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire."

John now entered the third period of his prophetic career. The first was that of youth, when he shared the home in Hebron and received the wise instructions of his devout parents; the second that in which he completed his preparation by the sojourn in the wilderness; and the third begins with the coming of Jesus from Galilee to receive baptism at the hands of the stern son of the desert. Here we observe a change in the bearing of the fearless prophet. Up to this moment rulers, ecclesiastics, princes, rabbis, and the people generally had been received in the spirit that acknowledges no superior. But now One approaches with more than human mien. As John looks on the graceful form and into the quiet face, the eyes of the stranger, calm and undaunted, meet his. Instantly he feels that the promised Messiah is before him. Jesus requests baptism. John demurs, with modest frankness saying, "I have need to be baptized of thee; and comest thou to me?" Jesus accepts the implied distinction, but says, "Suffer it to be so now." When the two come up from the flowing river, John beholds "the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove

and abiding upon him," and adds, "And I saw and bare record that this is the Son of God."

John now reached the culmination of his career. The "burning and shining light" continued to preach during Jesus' temptation and his first tour through Judea and Galilee. But public attention now centered in the man whom John declared the Messiah. John's disciples in displeasure came to their leader saying "Rabbi, behold, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou bearest witness, the same baptizeth, and all men come to him." John now gave the memorable address which will live in all ages as unexampled in humility and spiritual joy, settling conclusively his teaching concerning Christ, viz.: "A man can receive nothing except it be given him from heaven. Ye yourselves bear me witness that I said I am not the Christ, but that I am sent before him. He that hath the bride is the bridegroom: but the friend of the bridegroom, which standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice: this my joy therefore is fulfilled. He must increase, but I must decrease."

In the meantime the people had been disgraced by another scandal. Herod Antipas had become enamoured of Herodias, his brother Philip's wife. The companion of each was thereupon divorced. The guilty union was then consummated. John commented freely on this unpardonable outrage, and Herod made this a pretext for John's arrest and imprisonment.

Herod had regained possession of the formidable fortress of Machærus in the Perea to the east of the Dead Sea, and in his voluptuous reign it was common for him to make this a resort. Originally built by the Arabs as a frontier protection, this gloomy citadel was particularly favored for defence. It was situated on a high and rocky eminence to the south of the mountain of Pisgah, in the vicinity where tradition says Moses was buried. Scarcely a mile away from the fortress Herod built a city, which he named Machærus also, and securely walled in a path barred by numerous and ponderous gates, which he kept constantly guarded. The summit was entirely enclosed by walls. Deep gorges sur-

rounded on every side but that of the walled path with its formidable gates. Though the immediate locality suggested only desolation, the distant view from the grand height was magnificent, comprising that of the broad expanse of the Dead Sea, the winding Jordan, the cities of the plain, the mountains of Judah, the Holy City, and the proud heights of Gilboa.² Here John was condemned to darkness in one of the dungeons cut into the solid rock beneath the frowning walls of the citadel.

There are intimations that at times Herod brought John forth to discourse before him ; but the stern prophet had nothing to recant. He would not swerve from his stinging rebuke, "It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife." The end drew near.

It was now the thirtieth anniversary of Herod's reign. He celebrated it by a banquet, to which he invited his lords, high captains and chief dignitaries of Galilee. He chose to observe this within the palace which he had erected inside the enclosure of the fortress. Women were not admitted to such banquets, but could appear as performers on the private stage at the end of the banquetting hall, at the conclusion of the feast. The crafty design of Herodias is now seen. Salome, her daughter by her first husband Philip, appears and dances the customary pantomime before the king. Elated with wine and pleased by the performance he exclaims, "Ask of me what thou wilt, and I will give it thee to the half of my kingdom." Hastily consulting her mother (who perceives her opportunity for revenge), she requests the head of John the Baptist. The king is exceedingly sorry, yet his pride will not allow him to retract the pledge. An executioner repairs to the dungeon. The victim beholds his entrance, the instrument of blood the signal of death. The noble and unflinching prophet bows calmly to his fate, and the head of the man who had appalled the throne with the terror of truth, is brought to the accomplished dancer on a salver, and borne by her in triumph

² See Geike's "Life of Christ," vol. i. p. 418: "From his windows Antipas had a magnificent view of the Dead Sea, the whole course of the Jordan, Jerusalem." etc.,

to her mother. John's disciples learn of his tragic death, and ask Herod for his mutilated body; the request is granted, and they bear it away to solemn burial.

Rev. R. T. Sawyer.

ARTICLE III.

New Orthodoxy; or, The Tendency of Sin to Permanence.

PART II.

PROOFS OF THE DOCTRINE EXAMINED.

In a former article we considered "New Orthodoxy," or the doctrine of the tendency in moral character to permanence, "good as well as bad, and bad as well as good." Our effort in that article was to so state this doctrine as to make it clear to the apprehension of all, and to show its effects if accepted upon Old Orthodoxy, or what has long been held by the Church as sound doctrine.

In this article we are to examine the proofs of this doctrine, and see upon what grounds it is sought to be established. That we may have the matter entirely clear before us, let us see just what it is that is to be proven, or that we aim to prove.

It is fundamental to this doctrine that endless punishment is based on endless sinning. The thing to be proven, therefore, is the endlessness of sinning. To sustain the doctrine of endless punishment it must be shown that some souls will sin to all eternity. For if at any time in the long future, all souls cease to sin, then the bottom of this doctrine would fall out, because there would be nobody to punish. To sustain the doctrine of endless punishment on this ground it is indispensable that somebody should sin to all eternity. Hence it is this doctrine of the endlessness of sinning, the doctrine that it is certain that some souls will sin to all eternity, which it is attempted to prove.

In order to prove this doctrine the position is taken that there is a tendency in character to "final permanence," good as well as bad and bad as well as good, that the good man by following good rises to permanence in goodness, to a state in which he cannot *choose* anything but goodness ; and the bad man by following badness falls into permanence in badness, into a state so bad that he cannot choose anything but badness. It will be observed that one half of this position is not in controversy. For reasons which will appear further on, the tendency upward is not denied. Nobody, so far as we know, questions the tendency in good character to become permanently good. But the question is, Is there such a tendency in bad character ? Can we go down as well as up until we reach a point beyond which a moral change is absolutely impossible ? Is there in this universe, and under the government of God, a tendency in sin to final permanence ? Has God so ordered affairs that a soul may go on in sin until he can do nothing but sin ? Is it in the nature of things that bad character tends to a badness that is irremediable, from which there is no recovery ? The question is not whether there may be such a tendency to a limited degree ; but it is whether there is such a tendency to an *unlimited* degree, to a degree that is hopeless, to a degree which if once reached assures the final sinfulness of all who reach it ?

New Orthodoxy says there is. It contends that a soul may go down until it reaches depths of iniquity from which there can be no recovery ; that there is in the nature of things under the rule of the "righteous Father" a tendency in sin and in sinful character to "final permanence." The thing to be proven therefore, is this tendency. The effort is to show that such a tendency undoubtedly exists, and therefore it is very certain that sin will exist to all eternity. The attempt is to unfold this law of descent into the regions of irremediable iniquity, and then to prove that some souls will obey this law to their own ruin ; to describe the process of moral retrogression, and then persuade us that some will follow that process beyond the point of recovery ; in fine, to prove that the old proverb,

"it is never too late to mend," is a very great misreading of the nature of things. The arguments may be summed up under the following heads :

1. The law of "Judicial Blindness."

2. The self-propagating power of sin.

3. Scriptural Testimony.

1. The law of Judicial Blindness. This law is, according to Mr. Cook, that when we shut our eyes to the truth and refuse to obey it, we gradually lose the vision of truth and the power to obey.

If, for instance, we have rejected the Gospel and refused to obey its light all through life, even until we enter upon the other life and more light is given us in that life, it is quite certain that we shall not be able to see that light, or if we are, we shall not be able to follow it. By a lifelong rejection and disobedience of the gospel vision we shall have so blinded our spiritual eye and weakened our moral power, that we can neither see nor obey whatever new vision of celestial truth may be given us in the world to come. This law of judicial blindness Mr. Cook unfolds in the following manner :

"Under irreversible natural law sin produces judicial blindness. When a man sins against light, there comes upon him an unwillingness to look into the accusing illumination, and the consequence is that he turns away from it. But that effect becomes a cause. . . . These six propositions are scientifically demonstrable."

"(1) Truth possessed but not obeyed becomes unwelcome.

(2) It is therefore shut out of the voluntary activities of memory and reflection, as it gives pain.

(3) The passions it should check grow therefore stronger.

(4) The moral emotions it should feed grow weaker.

(5) An ill-balanced state of the soul thus arises and tends to become habitual.

(6) That ill-balanced state renders the soul blind to the truth most needed to rectify its condition."¹

In illustrating these propositions he has the following :
"A man sins against light boldly. . . . The consequence instantly is that he ceases to be at peace with himself, and light instead of becoming a blessing is to him an accusation.

¹ Transcendentalism, pp. 146-9.

The slant javelin of truth that was intended to penetrate him with rapture fills him with torture. . . . But light having become an accuser man turns away from it. Then the virtues which that light ought to quicken are allowed to languish. The vices which that light ought to repress grow more vigorous. Repeated acts of sin result in a continued dissimilarity of feeling with God. . . . This state continuing becomes a habit, then that habit continuing long becomes chronic, and so the result is an ill-balanced growth of character."²

Here we have the whole process before us. We shut our eyes to the truth and refuse to obey it, then the truth begins to torture us, and then we turn away from it, and then it tortures us more; then we turn further away, then our misery becomes still greater, and so we go on and on, turning away from the truth and experiencing its retribution until we reach a point where we can see nothing but the blackness of darkness, and our misery becomes as supreme as our blindness is complete.

The best of all his illustrations of this process Mr. Cook takes from Carlyle. "Carlyle," he says, "quotes out of the Koran a story of the dwellers by the Dead Sea, to whom Moses was sent. They sniffed and sneered at Moses; saw no comeliness in Moses and so he withdrew; but Nature and her rigorous veracities did not withdraw. When next we find the dwellers by the Dead Sea, they, according to the Koran, are all changed into apes. By not using their souls they lost them. And now,' continues Carlyle, 'their only employment is to sit there and look into the smokiest, dreariest, most undecipherable sort of a universe; only once in seven days they do remember that they once had souls.'"³

This evolution is not according to Darwin, since it works backward instead of forward, but it serves very well to illustrate this law of judicial blindness. It makes very clear the process by which Mr. Cook contends we reach the condition of supreme darkness and supreme woe. By refusing to use our souls we lose them. By shutting our eyes to the light we be-

² The same, pp. 149-50.

³ Ibid. p. 155.

come ~~unable~~ to see or follow the light. Hence there is a tendency in sin to "final permanence."

Now I am far from denying this law of judicial blindness. I fully recognize the existence of such a law. All philosophy and religion bear witness to its reality. It would be supreme folly to deny that there is a process of losing the vision of the soul.

We all understand very well that by neglecting to use any faculty, it becomes useless. If we do not use our memory we cannot remember. So with the eye of the spirit, with that mental faculty whereby we see the truth: if we do not use that faculty we lose it. If we shut our eyes to the truth and refuse to obey it, we benumb this faculty and our ability to see the truth is impaired. And by a long course of such practice we render ourselves mentally blind, we cannot see the truth when presented, just as a man by constant lying cannot *tell* the truth. This is what the Saviour means when he says, "From him that hath not shall be taken even that which he hath." He means that by neglecting our powers we lose them. They are, so to speak, taken from us.

This law of judicial blindness, therefore, is a reality, and its penalty is also a reality. If we wilfully and persistently shut our eyes to the truth, we bring upon ourselves terrible retribution. Indeed, I know not but this is the most terrible retribution of which humanity has any knowledge. Look over the world's history, and you find that the most fearful and crushing retributions have come upon men and nations because they have wilfully shut out the light that would have saved them. It is a fearful thing to shut our eyes to the truth. God's most weighty judgments fall upon those who refuse to accept and follow the light He gives. The law of judicial blindness and its consequences, therefore, are most fully recognized and accepted.

It does not, however, prove the doctrine in hand. It does not prove that this sinful tendency, under the government of God, will be suffered to go on until sin becomes absolutely permanent. This is the thing to be proven. It is not enough

to show, according to this law, that there is a tendency downward in sin; it must be shown that there is nothing to counteract this tendency — that it will go on inevitably until it reaches a final, fixed condition of sinfulness.

To do this by this argument it must be shown that the effects of the law, that the blindness and the retribution are permanent, that they are moral adamant that cannot be broken or removed. And this is just what Mr. Cook does not prove and what cannot be proven.,

On the other hand it is clearly “demonstrable” that these effects, this blindness and this retribution, are not permanent but temporary; that under the government of God they are not final states but conditions by the way. A complete analysis shows that in this retribution there is a power that tends to arrest and counteract the downward tendency in the law of judicial blindness, a power that tends to open the eyes of the blind and “make the deaf hear and the lame walk.” We must see what this law has to say before we decide this question.

Something very analogous to the operation of these two laws is found in nature. By the law of gravitation water always seeks its level, and if this were the only law no leaf would quiver on a tree or plant grow out of the ground. But there is another law in organic growth that counteracts this law of gravitation and carries the water to the top of the highest tree and greens the leaf there as on the lowest vine. Hence it would be utterly inconsequential to prove, according to the law of gravitation the tendency in water to seek its own level, and then affirm as a consequence that no vegetation could exist. The answer would come very quickly: Why, here is another law that counteracts this law of gravitation, and makes vegetation possible; therefore your argument proves nothing to the point.

Just so in the case in hand. By the law of judicial blindness the downward tendency in sin is established, and then the final permanency of sin is affirmed as a consequence. But this does not follow. The argument is inconclusive. It does

not establish the point. For here is another law that counteracts this law of judicial blindness and arrests this downward tendency, and so prevents the sin from becoming permanent.

That there is such a law there can be no manner of doubt. That there is a power in the retribution produced by shutting our eyes to the light, which tends to remove this blindness and open our eyes, cannot be denied. All experience testifies to the fact. Human history is brimful of examples of the removal of this wilful blindness by retribution.

The case of the Prodigal is in point. He shut his eyes to the truth and went away into the darkness, and grew worse and worse, until he found himself among the swine. Then he "came to himself." The scales fell from his eyes. The husks and the swine administered a retribution that restored his vision. He began to see the truth. His blindness was not permanent. He did not turn into an ape, but he came to himself and went home to his father.

National examples of this judicial blindness removed by retribution are without number. Egypt would not let the Israelites go. Pharaoh's heart grew harder and his eyes blinder for a long time under the retribution that came from shutting his eyes to the truth. But the Lord's hand was too heavy. He was forced to yield at last. It took very severe punishment, but he came to terms finally and let the Israelites go.

Take France. Never was there an example of greater or more wilful political blindness than that which ordered the massacre of St. Bartholomew. As Carlyle says, "France slit her own veins and let out her best blood when she murdered and drove out the Huguenots." What were the consequences? The French Revolution, the Reign of Terror, the Napoleons, and the Franco-German war, with all their terrible woes. But France is learning; she is getting her eyes open. The retribution has been terrible, but it has not been in vain.

Take Great Britain in her treatment of her colonies. How utter was the blindness of the mother country in adopting such measures as brought on the Revolution. But her eyes

were opened at last. It took eight years of dire war to make her see, but she saw finally, and let the colonies set up for themselves, and with what an immense blessing to the world.

Take our own national history. Have not our eyes been opened by retribution? What people ever more willfully shut their eyes to the truth than we did to the truth concerning slavery. It was as clear as sunlight that we could not hold slaves in opposition to the spirit of the age and of our own institutions, when all civilized nations were setting them free. And yet we would not see it. We shut our eyes to the truth until in our headlong blindness we plunged into the Rebellion. Then we began to see. That terrible castigation opened our eyes. We acknowledged the truth amid the pains and under "the furnace blast of our own transformation." It took a good deal of punishment to remove our blindness, but we saw at last and let the bondmen go free.

But perhaps the best example of this judicial blindness is furnished by the Jews in their rejection of Christianity. And here we are fortunate in having the whole question settled by inspiration. The Jews rejected the gospel light in the most wilful manner. Their blindness was complete, and their retribution the most terrible that was ever visited upon a people. But was that blindness permanent and is the retribution to last forever? Hear what the great Teacher says: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wing, and ye would not. Behold, your house is left unto you desolate. Ye shall not see me henceforth till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord" (Matt. xxiii. 37-39). Listen also to the great Apostle as he illuminates the whole subject in the eleventh chapter of Romans: "I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, lest ye be wise in your own conceits, that blindness in part is happened to Israel until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in, and so all Israel shall be saved."

Here we have the highest authority in direct opposition to

the teachings under consideration. Jesus and Paul declare positively that this judicial blindness under the government of God is not permanent but temporary, hence its retribution cannot be eternal. It must be seen, therefore, that the argument under this head fails utterly. There is another law in the retribution caused by this blindness, as all these examples clearly show, that counteracts this law of judicial blindness and renders all arguments drawn from it in support of the final permanence of evil entirely worthless.

2. The self-propagating power of sin. The argument under this head is but little more than a restatement in another form of the argument under the previous one. It is that every act of sin weakens the force of righteousness within us and tends to make us the slaves of sin. By continuous disobedience we form or grow the habit of disobedience. If we do wrong to-day it becomes easier for us to do wrong to-morrow, and by doing wrong to-morrow it becomes still easier the next day, and so on, until we lose the power to do anything but wrong. We all know the power of habit, and the argument is that habit may become so strong as to defy all the power of God and man to break it.

"Under irreversible natural law," says Mr. Cook, "there is a self-propagating power in sin. Of course this self-propagating power depends upon the law of judicial blindness very largely, but by no means exclusively. So are we made that every effect in the growth of our character becomes a cause."⁴

That is, we sin; that sin produces a bad effect in our souls; that bad effect is the cause of more sin, and so on until we are tied to sin by the force of habit with adamant chains. In illustration of this argument Mr. Cook relates the following incident in the life of the great naturalist, Agassiz:

"Agassiz, wishing to study the glittering interior of an Alpine chasm, allowed himself on one occasion to be lowered into a crevice in a glacier, and remained for some hours at midday, at a point hundreds of feet below the surface of the ice. After gratifying his enthusiastic curiosity, he gave the signal to be drawn up. I heard him say this himself: 'In

⁴ Ibid. p. 156.

our haste we had forgotten the weight of the rope. We had calculated the weight of my person, of the basket in which I rode, and of the tackling that was around the basket; but we had forgotten the weight of the rope that sank with me into the chasm. The three men at the summit were not strong enough to draw me back. I had to remain there until one of the party went five miles—two and a half out and two and a half back—to the nearest tree to get wood enough to make a lever and draw me up.' When habit," continues Mr. Cook, "lowers a man into the jaws of the nature of things, it is common, but it is not scientific, to forget the weight of the rope. That weight is a fact in the universe, and the importance of not forgetting it is one of the most haughty and unanswerable teachings of science."⁵

This is very good as an illustration, but we are not to mistake it for an argument. To make it worth anything as an argument it must be shown that not only man but God hath forgotten the weight of the rope. "It is one of the most haughty and unanswerable teachings," at least of *religious* science that there is a God in this universe, and that "He made us, and not we ourselves." To make this illustration good for anything as an argument, therefore, it must be shown that in giving us moral freedom whereby the letting of ourselves down into the abyss of sin became possible, God forgot the weight of the rope—habit; and that He cannot now find sufficient wood anywhere in the universe to make a moral lever strong enough to draw us out. As this is not done there is no argument in the illustration.

The argument in support of the position that habit may become so strong that it cannot be broken, he takes from the analogy of natural law. Mr. Cook argues that there is a penalty of natural law that is not remedial, and hence that analogy teaches that there may be, yea, must be such a penalty to the moral law. There is a penalty, he says, that has a remedial tendency, and there is a penalty that has no remedial tendency. To illustrate and enforce this position he has the following:

⁵ Orthodoxy, p. 12.

"Under the physical laws of gravitation a ship may careen to the right or left and only a remedial effect be produced. The danger may teach the crew seamanship; it makes men bold and wise. Thus the penalty of violating up to a certain point the physical law is remedial in its tendency. But let the ship careen beyond a certain line and it capsizes. If it be iron it remains at the bottom of the sea, and hundreds and hundreds of years of suffering of that penalty has no tendency to bring it back. Under the physical natural laws plainly there is such a thing as its being too late to mend. . . .

. . . So under the organic law your tree gashed at a certain point may throw forth its gums and even have greater strength, than before; but gashed beyond the centre, cut through the organic law is so far violated that the tree falls; and after a thousand years you do not expect to see the tree escape from the dominion of the law which is enforcing upon it penalty, do you? There is no tendency in that penalty toward remedial effects, none at all, and you know it." Hence he concludes, "If there is such a thing as its being forever too late to mend, under the organic and physical natural law, probably, and more than probably, there is such a thing under the moral natural law."⁶

Unfortunately for this argument, if it proves anything it proves too much. If the argument was for the annihilation of the wicked, this reasoning might have some weight. If it was held that sin absolutely *killed* the soul, utterly took away its existence, then perhaps this argument from the penalties of physical natural law might have some force. But this is not the case. Mr. Cook does not hold that sin kills the soul, but through the power of habit, that it eventually ties the soul to such a condition of sinfulness and conscious suffering that all the forces of the universe cannot break it away. Hence this argument proves too much. For if it proves anything it proves annihilation.

That ship down there in the bottom of the sea is not a ship. It is only so much wood and iron in the shape of a ship. A ship, properly speaking, is something that has life and can sail. Without these properties it ceases to be a ship, that is, it is a dead ship. Just so with the tree. That prostrate trunk

⁶ Transcendentalism, pp. 157-8.

not a tree. It is only so much wood. A tree is something that has life and can grow. Losing these properties it becomes a dead tree. It is no more a tree than a dead body is a man. Hence the penalty of the physical law in the case of the capsized ship and that of the organic law in the case of the felled tree, is death, not suffering existence, but absolute death. Consequently if the analogy holds good, the penalty of the moral law, when violated too long, is death, absolute annihilation. It kills the soul, destroys conscious existence. This argument of Mr. Cook, therefore, cuts up his own doctrine, root and branch. It makes endless sin impossible, because it kills the sinner. Hence it proves nothing to his purpose because it proves too much.

This is sufficient as an answer to this argument, but as we desire to take from it all possible force it may have in any mind, we observe that the position taken as to the penalty of these physical natural laws is false and as a man of science he is inexcusable who does not know it to be false. The position is that this penalty is a state or condition of permanency, that the dead ship and the dead tree are in a condition from which there is no escape. The effort is to prove that there is a penalty to the moral law that is irremediable; hence it is affirmed that there is a like penalty under the physical law, a penalty that is an irremediable condition.

But this is not so. The condition of the dead tree is not irremediable. On the contrary, we all know that the forces of nature begin at once to remedy its condition. They take the prostrate trunk in hand and convert it into materials for another tree. This is the "resurrection" process that is continually going on in the vegetable world. The old dies and rises again into new forms of life and beauty. It is absurd, therefore, to say that the penalty of violating an organic law by cutting down a tree is a condition of permanency.

The same is true of the ship, only the changing forces operate more slowly, and their work is not so palpable to the senses. Judging from the mighty changes that this globe has undergone, what supreme folly to intimate that that ship

down there in the bottom of the sea is in a condition of "final permanence." The penalty of these physical laws, therefore, is not irremediable, but the exact opposite: hence, so far as this fact proves anything, it proves that the penalty of the moral law is not irremediable, but the exact opposite; that it is remediable, that it sets forth a condition in which great forces are at work to produce a change for the better. All this argument, therefore, in support of the position that there may be a punishment of sin that does not tend to reform the sinner, is seen to be groundless.

3. Scriptural Testimony. Under this head all that Mr. Cook has is the assumption that the Scriptures teach the possibility of eternal sin. He says, "It is not my duty here to expound the Scriptures, but you will allow me to say, gentlemen, that 'eternal sin' is a Scriptural phrase. As all scholars know, we must read in the twenty-ninth verse of the third chapter of Mark, *hamartematos*, and not *kriseos*: 'He who sinneth against the Holy Ghost is in danger of eternal sin.'"⁷

The meaning of this is that the word rendered damnation in this passage ought to be changed for one that means sin, and instead of reading "eternal damnation," as it does in the old version, it ought to read "eternal sin," as it does in the new. This would make the passage teach that he who sins against the Holy Ghost is in danger of eternal sin — is in danger of continuing in sin for ever. His contumacy is so great that he has passed the line beyond which repentance and forgiveness are impossible.

It is a sufficient answer to this to say, that according to all the best criticism of the present day, Christ neither said nor taught anything of the kind. In the first place, he did not teach that the sin against the Holy Ghost is absolutely unpardonable. All the weight his language will bear is that this sin was one exceedingly difficult to pardon, since it indicated a very great degree of wilful blindness. Thus Grotius says, "The meaning is, not that this sin shall remain unforgiven so

⁷ Ibid. p. 168.

long as God exists, but that all other sins and blasphemies may more readily be forgiven than the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost." Bishop Pearce says, "This is a strong way of expressing how difficult a thing it was for such a sinner to obtain pardon."⁸ The Master did not say, then, that this was an "eternal sin," or one that cannot be repented of, for any sin that can be forgiven can and must be repented of.

Again, the phrase "eternal sin" is not a Scripture phrase, if you use that phrase in the sense of "endless sin." The word translated eternal does not mean endless. It simply means age-lasting, an indefinite period of time. "All the best scholarship" of the present time is surely acknowledging this. It is too late in the day to hold the word translated eternal to the exact meaning of eternity, or endless. Such "scholarship" is behind the age. Christ, therefore, did not say that "he who sinneth against the Holy Ghost is in danger of eternal sin," meaning thereby endless sin, but only that he is in danger of "age-lasting" sin, or of continuing long in sin. Hence this Scripture testimony may be dismissed without further comment.

We have now passed in review all the arguments in favor of this doctrine of the final permanence of sin of which we have any knowledge, and we can but feel that they are very inconclusive. In our next we shall try to show that this doctrine is without foundation in either philosophy or religion.

Rev. Stephen Crane.

⁸ Page's Selections. p. 80.

ARTICLE IV.

Preaching the Gospel to the Dead.

"Because Christ also suffered for sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God; being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit; in which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which aforetime were disobedient, when the long suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls, were saved through water." (1 Peter iii. 18-20. *Rev. Ver.*)

"Who shall give account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead. For unto this end was the gospel preached even to the dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit." (1 Peter iv. 6, 6. *Rev. Ver.*)

THE Common Version of these passages being familiar to all Bible students, we give here the Revised Version, as representing the emended Greek Text as now adopted by the generality of critics. The interpretation of these passages has been regarded usually as extremely difficult. But although some false readings of the Greek text have contributed to erroneous views heretofore, as now corrected and translated according to the opinions of nearly all scholars, the statements of the Apostle are sufficiently clear and precise to exclude all doubt as to his meaning, if only we are content to abide by the literal sense of his language. But these Scriptures, literally understood, are plainly opposed to certain dogmas long cherished: and thus, as Lange observes: "Various expositions, arising from dogmatical prejudice, have been set up with regard to these passages" (Notes, 1 Pet. iv. 6). The literal sense of these texts is opposed, *e. g.* 1. To the doctrine of no repentance nor salvation after death; and 2. The directly opposite doctrine of no sin nor punishment after death. If we insist on either of these dogmas, it is necessary to attach some symbolical or figurative meaning to St. Peter's language. But such eminent exegetes as Lange, Alford and others, powerfully sustain, for the most part, the strict, literal sense of these Scriptures; and it will be our aim in the present article to confirm this view. As preparatory to a correct exposition of the two texts, it will be necessary to submit,

I. *Some Critical and Philological Notes upon them.*

It will be noticed that the Revised Version of the first passage (1 Peter iii. 18–20) presents some remarkable deviations from the Common Version, and especially in the clauses uniting the eighteenth and nineteenth verses; thus, while the Common Version reads, “but quickened *by the Spirit*; *by* which also he went and preached;” the new version has: “but quickened *in the spirit*, *in* which also he went and preached.” These variations arise from the emendation of the Greek text. The so-called *textus receptus* has the article τῷ before πνεύματι, (vs, 18), thus; “the Spirit,” meaning the Holy Spirit by which Christ was quickened, or *made alive*, and “*by* which (the Holy Spirit) also he went and preached.” But it is now held by the generality of critics that this article before πνεύματι, “spirit,” is spurious; so that the new version of these clauses is alone correct, that is, “quickened (or *made alive*) *in the spirit*, *in* which also he went and preached.” In other words, it was *in his own spirit* and personality, that Christ was made alive, and it was *in his own spirit*, that he went and preached, whereas, according to the old text and version, he was made alive *by* the Holy Spirit, and *by* the Holy Spirit he went and preached. These variations, as we shall see, have a very important bearing upon this entire passage, essentially changing its meaning. There can be no doubt as to the correction of the Greek text, for the article is omitted by a host of MSS., such as A. B. C. K. L., the Codex Sinaiticus, etc.; while none of the Uncials supply it (Alford, *in loc.*).

As will be understood, the term “quickened,” which is retained by the Revisers, really means *made alive*; and such is the sense of the Greek verb ζωνοποιεῖς, used in the original. Christ, then, was put to death in the flesh, but made alive in the spirit, in which he went and preached to the spirits in prison

Turning now to the other passage (1 Peter iv. 5, 6.), in the phrase, “is ready to judge the quick and the dead,” the term *quick* means simply the living; thus, “to judge the living and the dead.” The original, ζῶντας, is present participle

of ζῶω, "to live," etc. In the sixth verse we have the expressions, "according to men in the flesh," and "according to God in the spirit." The Greek κατὰ, here "according to," has the sense of "in the manner of," importing likeness, or conformity to some standard; so Winer, citing this verse, remarks: "In 1 Peter iv. 6, κατὰ ἀνθρώπων means 'after the manner of men,' and is more closely defined by the annexed σαρκί; just as κατὰ θεόν means 'after the manner of God,' which is more closely defined by πνεύματι, for God is πνεῦμα."¹ Jelf also, citing this phrase, observes: "So more definitely, after the fashion of, like, as κατὰ ἀνθρώπων."² We may thus render this entire passage as follows: Who shall give account to him that is ready to judge the living and the dead. For to this end was the gospel preached also to the dead; in order that (ἵνα denoting purpose) they may be judged, indeed, after the manner of men in the flesh, but live after the manner (or likeness) of God in the spirit. With these remarks we are now prepared to take up the two passages in regular order, with the view to their correct exposition.

II. *The Text I Peter iii. 18-20: or the spirits in prison.*

Perhaps the exegesis most frequently held by those advocating a non-literal interpretation of this passage, assumes that Christ preached to the living men of Noah's times, not in his immediate person, but by the aid of the Holy Spirit through Noah's ministrations. This view received some support from the *textus receptus*, which supplies the article before πνεύματι, "spirit," and which is represented by our Common Version. But the Greek text as now corrected, omitting this article, and represented by the Revised Version, renders this exegesis impossible. 1st. Christ went and preached, not *by the aid* of the Holy Spirit, but *in his own* spirit and proper personality; 2d. The preaching took place, not in Noah's times, but only after Christ had been put to death in the flesh, and made alive in the spirit, *in which*, namely, his own spirit, the preaching was done; 3d. Christ, *as a spirit*, went and preached *to spirits* (πνεύμασι); and not to living men in the flesh; that is

¹ Gr. Gram. New Test. 7th Edit, p. 402, note 1. ² Gr. Gram. 5th Edit. sec. 629, 3 g.

to say, to the spirits in prison, who had been disobedient while Noah was constructing the ark. These spirits were those of the antediluvians who had refused to heed Noah's predictions of the deluge. These facts, with the emended Greek text, must forever set at nought the scheme of exegesis here being considered.

Another theory of our text, adopted especially by many Universalist critics, regards the spirits in prison, not as the men of Noah's time, but as the Gentiles, or Jews and Gentiles, to whom the Apostles preached through the spirit of Christ bestowed upon them. The prison (*φυλακή*) is understood of those bound in the darkness of sin and error, yet still abiding in the flesh. But the same facts before urged apply as well to this exegesis: 1st, The preaching is done by Christ in his own person, and not a word is said about the Apostles; 2d, The preaching is done by Christ, only after being put to death on the cross, and being made alive as a spirit, or in his own spirit; 3d, It was as a spirit after death that he preached to spirits, and not to living men in the flesh; 4th, The distinction between men in the flesh and spirits not in the body, is emphatic and constantly kept up throughout the passage. Thus it is only by pure assumption, without a shadow of proof except preconceived ideas, that the literal sense of St. Peter's language is set aside. The identification of those whom the Apostle meant by "the spirits in prison," is too direct and plain for a school-boy to mistake in reference to it. They were those who had been formerly disobedient, namely, during the days that Noah was building the ark. They were thus the contemporaries of Noah; not the Gentiles, nor Jews and Gentiles of the Apostolic period. Nor were they the living men of Noah's time; for the preaching to them took place only after Christ's death on the cross, when they had been dead for ages. As to the nature of the prison in which, as spirits, they were confined, we need not refer to the Greek superstitions concerning *Hades* for an explanation. They were held in the darkness of sin and error, like men in the flesh, in the same moral condition. If *φυλακή* can apply to

the living men of the Apostle's time, so to the spirits of men who lived in Noah's time. No Greek superstitions need be called to our aid here, for St. Peter wholly eschews them.

No other exegesis of this passage than those already reviewed, has the shadow of a claim to recognition as opposed to a literal interpretation. Thus we may adopt here the language of Dean Alford, as follows :

"From all, then, which has been said, it will be gathered that with the great majority of commentators, ancient and modern, I understand these words to say that our Lord, in his disembodied state did go to the place of detention of departed spirits, and did there announce his work of redemption, preach salvation, in fact, to the disembodied spirits of those who refused to obey the voice of God when the judgment of the flood was hanging over them."³

The author, as we shall see, by no means limits Christ's preaching, after his death, to those spirits who had lived in Noah's times. To the same effect as the foregoing extract, is the language of Dr. Wordsworth, who fully agrees with Alford's exegesis of our passage, although, with singular inconsistency, he attempts to avoid the literal sense of the parallel text in the fourth chapter.⁴

III. *The Text 1 Peter iv. 5, 6 ; The Gospel Preached to the Dead in General.*

It should be remarked here that in the clause "is ready to judge the living and the dead" (vs. 5), the term for "dead" is *νεκρός*, accusative, while in the clause, "To this end was the gospel preached also to the *dead*" (vs. 6), we have for the original *νεκροῖς*, dative ; and the particle connecting these two clauses is *γὰρ*, "for," which opens the sixth verse, showing its dependence upon, and logical connection with, the 5th verse. This conducts us to the very judicious remarks by Alford, in his notes on the sixth verse :

"In examining into the meaning of this very difficult verse, one thing may be laid down at the outset, as certain on any sure principles of exegesis, and thereby a whole class of in-

³ Gr. Test. Notes, in *loc.* ⁴ Gr. Test. Notes, in *loc.* Lange, also, as will be seen, supports the literal exegesis of this passage.

interpretations removed out of our way. Seeing that *γάρ* binds verses 5 and 6 logically together, and that *καὶ νεκροῖς* (vs. 6) distinctly takes up the *νεκρούς* before (vs. 5) in this logical connection, all interpretations must be false which do not give *νεκροῖς* in verse 6 the same meaning as *νεκρούς* in verse 5 : i. e., that of *dead men*, literally and simply so-called, men who have died and are in their graves. This at once rid's us of all the commentators who interpret this second *νεκροῖς* of the *dead in trespasses and sins*" (*in loc.*).

All orthodox critics admit that in vs. 5 the *living* and the *dead* are literally such ; and that all the living and all the dead were to be judged. This is obviously the correct view, 1st, Because Christ's judgment is always represented as absolutely universal, including the entire human race. Hence, this judgment must include all the dead as well as all the living, literally so termed. Hence, also, the language of St. Paul : " Jesus Christ, who is about to judge (*τοῦ μελλόντος κρίνειν*) the living and the dead " (2 Tim. iv. 1). In one passage we read, " who is *ready* to judge," in the other, " who is *about* to judge." The event was near at hand, and included the whole race of man, being contemporary with Christ's *parousia*, or mediatorial reign. The fifth verse of our text, then, includes in its reference all the living and all the dead, literally so considered. The same is true of the sixth verse, on which Alford remarks again :

" A second principle which we may lay down is this : that *νεκροῖς* in verse 6 must be kept as wide in its reference as *νεκρούς* in verse 5, i. e., that it must not be interpreted as applying merely to the blasphemers of the Christians . . . or merely to the spirits in prison of ch. iii. 19, but must be treated as a general assertion in the literal meaning of *νεκροῖς*. The want of the article does not justify any limitation of this word : for the article is also wanting before *νεκρούς* in verse 5, which indisputably is universal in its reference " (Notes, *in loc.*).

Such conscientious freedom and independence, as well as strict integrity to truth, in an orthodox critic, as the foregoing extracts exhibit, cannot fail to excite the admiration of every free, honest, and earnest seeker after truth. But to continue

our researches upon the text before us, let us attempt to confirm the two positions assumed by Alford, namely, that the term *dead* in verses 5 and 6 is to be taken in its literal sense, and as including all the dead in its reference. The sixth verse places the dead to whom the gospel was preached in direct contrast to men in the flesh, after the manner of whom the dead are to be judged. But for the purpose of exhibiting the absurdity to which it leads, let it be assumed, following the views of our writers usually heretofore, that the dead in verse 6 are the *dead in trespasses and sins*, being men living in the flesh. Then we paraphrase this verse in a manner consistently with the assumption, thus: For to this end was the gospel preached also to the *dead in trespasses and sins*, yet living in the flesh; that they might be judged according to *God in the spirit*; in other words, That sinful men in the flesh might be judged according to men in the flesh. As will be seen, thus interpreted, no one can make sense out of the passage. To predicate an intelligent idea of it, we must admit the contrast intended, between men living in the flesh, or body, and the dead who, as spirits, live according to God. But the underlying idea of the entire passage, including the two verses, is this; the Apostle assumes that it would be injustice to judge by the gospel those millions of the dead who never heard of Christ nor of the gospel. If, then, the dead were to be judged, the gospel must first be preached to them. Again, since Christ and his gospel are the only means of salvation, those millions of the dead who had never heard of either, must have both preached to them, or they could never be saved. This is the same question as that concerning the heathen of the present age, and, indeed, of all past ages. Without Christ and the gospel, they can never be saved; yet they die without ever hearing of either. Thus, in order to their salvation, or that they may be judged and live the divine life in the spirit, it is necessary for the dead to have the gospel preached to them. That Universalist critics should refuse to accept this philosophy, so clearly embodied in St. Peter's language literally understood, seems to us passing strange. If they believe

Christ and the gospel necessary to salvation. how do they expect those to be saved who never heard of either while living, unless both are proclaimed to them after death?

Incident to Christ's work of universal salvation was the necessity of his universal judgment, both of the living and the dead. For this purpose, then, the gospel was preached to the dead, namely: 1st, That they might be justly judged, the same as men in the flesh who had heard the gospel; 2d, That they might live the divine life in the spirit. The last clause in verse 6 has been usually interpreted by orthodox critics in a moral sense, that is to say, the words "but live according to God in the spirit," have been explained as "conformably to the will of God in the spirit," etc.⁵

But our exposition of the passages before us would be defective without the powerful support of Dr. Lange, who most ably and exhaustively maintains their literal sense, and concludes as follows:

"Holy Scripture nowhere teaches the eternal damnation of those who died as heathens or non-Christians; it rather intimates in many passages that forgiveness may be possible beyond the grave, and refers the final decision not to death, but to the day of Christ. (Acts xvii. 32; 2 Tim. i. 12; iv. 8; 1 John iv. 17.) But in our passage (1 Peter iv. 6), as in ch. iii. 19, 20, Peter by divine illumination clearly affirms that the ways of God's salvation do not terminate with the earthly life, and that the gospel is preached beyond the grave to those who have departed from this life without a knowledge of the same" (Notes, *in loc.*).

The following extract is then given, as cited by Gerlach, relative to the doctrine of the primitive church:

"Gerlach cites a passage from John of Damascus, in which the doctrine of the ancient church on the subject of Christ's descent into *Hades*, is summed up as follows: 'His glorified soul descends into *Hades*, in order that like as the Sun of Righteousness did rise to men on earth, so in like manner he might shine on those who under the earth sit in darkness and

⁵ See Robinson Gr. Lex. N. T. sub. *κατά*. II. 4. Cf. Wordsworth, *in loc.* Barnes. Notes *in loc.*, etc.

in the shadow of death ; in order that as he did publish peace to men on earth, gave deliverance to the captives, and sight to the blind, and became the cause of eternal salvation to believers, while he convicted the disobedient of unbelief, so in like manner he might deal with the inhabitants of *Hades*, so that to him every knee should bow, of those in heaven, on earth and under the earth, and that having thus loosed the chains of those long-confined prisoners, he might return from the dead and prepare to us the way of the resurrection.' " (*Id.*)

We see here what was the doctrine of the primitive church, founded on the literal interpretation of the passages in question ; a doctrine equally opposed to that of no repentance nor salvation after death, and that of no sin nor punishment after death ; both utterly inconsistent with any rational and philosophical view of the future life of man, since they equally attribute to the article of physical death such a revolution in the moral constitution of man as no sound philosophy can ever explain. Indeed, only a miracle can so change man's spiritual and moral nature after his death, that he can neither repent, on one hand, nor, on the contrary, commit sin and receive punishment therefor. St. Peter never taught doctrines so incapable of all rational apprehension. Allowing him to mean what he says, and so plainly that no man can mistake it, we learn from him that man enters the future life with the same moral nature that he has in this life ; and that there the same rational means are to be employed for his salvation as are employed in his present state of being. Christ and the gospel are to be preached to those who never heard of them, the same as to the heathen and non-Christian nations of the present day.

Universalist critics must abandon the doctrine of the universality of Christ's judgment, and show, in the face of the statements of Peter and Paul already quoted, and other passages, that it is confined to men in the flesh ; or they must admit that the dead, as well as living, are judged ; especially those who were not judged according to the gospel while living. Again, such critics must abandon the doctrine that Christ and his gospel are necessary to salvation in all cases,

or admit that Christ and his gospel are preached to those after death who died in perfect ignorance of them. St. Peter's language, literally understood, avoids these contradictions and teaches a doctrine in perfect harmony with the Universalist philosophy of the future life, as now held probably by the majority of our people and clergy.

The Universalism of the text, 1 Peter iv. 5, 6, is seen in the fact that the "dead" of verse 6 includes all, the same as in verse 5; and that all the dead live according to God in the spirit, that is, conformably to the will of God. The moral sense of this clause, as before stated, is generally admitted by orthodox critics. The certainty that God's design in preaching the gospel to the dead, will be fully realized, is expressed by *ἵνα*, "in order that," denoting a specific purpose on the part of the Deity. This Greek particle is very different from that of *ὥστε*, "that," a mere connective, denoting simply the result of an act, whether designed or not.

We shall hope that the reader will do us the justice to believe that the foregoing expositions of important texts are put forth in no dogmatic, and much less dictatorial, spirit; but solely in the interest of God's revealed truth, and of a sound, scientific exegesis of the Scriptures. It will not be forgotten, we trust, that our exegesis consists wholly in defending the literal sense of the passages, eschewing all private speculation and attempts at allegorizing. *O. D. Miller, S. T. D.*

ARTICLE V.

George MacDonald and His Writings.

GEORGE MACDONALD was born at Huntley, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, in 1825. His father was the proprietor of the Huntley Mills, and his ancestors were of the famous MacDonald clan that suffered so cruelly in the Glencoe Massacre of 1692. In the early part of his educational training, MacDonald was

for a time what is termed a parish student; after which he entered the University of Aberdeen, and there he took his degree. Having decided to enter the ministry he studied for that profession at Independent and Kings Colleges, and at Owens College in Manchester. On the completion of his preparatory theological studies, he preached two years for the Independent body in the counties of Surrey and Sussex; but finally left the pulpit, and, becoming a layman of the Church of England, devoted himself entirely to literature.

His productions show diligent application, profound thought, large experience, and a religious purpose. It is impossible for the reader not to feel the personal force and magnetic individuality of the *man*, and he must acknowledge that not only are these not subordinate to any other influences, but that their supremacy is manifested and upheld throughout all his writings.

Although an author of fiction, he inspires his readers with the idea that he is thoroughly in earnest, and his success is in some degree due to this fact. It is worthy of note that the kind of fiction known as religious, when undertaken by the majority of authors is almost sure to fail, but by him it is invested with a peculiar charm. He so intermingles the moral and religious with other elements of his work, that the reader unconsciously yields to their elevating influence, and sees none of that incongruity which in general characterizes this class of literature. He who would write fiction has a difficult task to perform. While presenting to his readers matter productive both of enjoyment and reflection, he should closely follow the course marked out for him by the requirements of the literature he has undertaken. While remembering "it is when in fairy fancy drest that romance gives utterance to truths severe," yet the aim and purpose of his work must be in chord with the spirit and adapted to the advancement of the age which he addresses.

One of the first peculiarities noticed in George MacDonald's works is their naturalness and originality, but it is possible to detect numerous agencies by which his mind has been influ-

enced. They disclose an intimate acquaintance with philosophy, classic literature and the best results of ancient and modern thought; and to these we may add a great familiarity with the traditions and mythology of different countries.

His stories are characterized by quaint humor, pathos, wisdom and purity of thought. Though children may be interested and benefited by them, though a simplicity almost child-like seems at times to pervade them, nevertheless, in their widest range they can be grasped only by those who from experience and observation of the world have enlarged and strengthened their intellectual powers, and developed an ability to comprehend truths that are concealed in the forms of symbols.

His poems are full of beautiful imagery and lofty sentiments, and in them without doubt his most exalted ideas have been embodied. It might be said of them that they largely form his confession of faith, so brightly do they reflect that spirituality and religious fervor by which all his works are more or less pervaded. But notwithstanding their great beauty and merit, the works which are the most strongly written are his prose productions; and it is from his descriptive narratives of real life that we receive the most direct and powerful impressions of his genius.

A characteristic peculiar to his writings is that certain qualities belonging to them are not realized at once, but dawn upon the mind at a later period. Indeed, his books have been written for the future, and in coming years will be even more extensively read and appreciated than now.

To the sympathetic and intelligent reader MacDonald seems to exhibit his own spiritual and mental conditions as elements of his work, and from these he skilfully builds. It has been said that "his genius seems rather to reflect what comes to it, than to reach out and gather in." But his genius not only reflects what is received from foreign sources; it appropriates and assimilates, and thereby new creations are developed and vitalized.

It is evident from the delineation of his characters that he

is one who searches the inner nature of his fellow-men, and studies and analyzes it with true and philosophic discrimination. His great experience of the world, and his high regard for humanity, are shown by the faithfulness with which he pictures the noblest developments of moral and intellectual life. He believes so firmly in enduring patience, exhaustless charity and moral beauty, that in almost all his books are found characters exemplifying these great principles by which he is so powerfully impressed. His Scotch heroes are grand personifications of his own ideals. In them he embodies his beliefs and opinions, and his ideas of right and wrong. Endowing them with attributes almost divine, he yet makes them human and natural. He voices through their agency his own sublime ideas and lofty sentiments, and by them influences the minds and lives of his readers.

In order that human needs may be ascertained and human misery relieved, he evidently believes and teaches that constant *personal* sympathy and effort, coupled with a spirit always *patient* and *hopeful*, are more effective than the devices of machine philanthropists. The characters, therefore, which embody his ideals are broad, vigorous, earnest and wholly unconventional; free from bigotry, cant and all manner of Phariseism. They are strong and majestic in the simplicity of their faith, and magnetic in the directness and unselfishness of their methods.

He has no taste for ludicrous representation, and manifests but little ability to seize upon those traits to which the caricaturist would be naturally attracted. He feels that there exists a near relationship between him and his fellows, and strives to lessen their faults and deformities, and to disclose and brighten their possibilities.

No more remarkable pictures of Scotch life and customs have been given to the world than those by this author. Even Scott cannot be regarded as more accurate and vivid. His representations are undeniably Scottish, and yet are marked by an individuality so distinct from those of Scott that they might almost be taken as descriptive of another country.

Although Scott and Burns had written and sung of Scotland, the subject was not exhausted, but presented broad and fertile fields to the genius of this author. He describes traits of Scottish life and manners of which we find but little in the poems of Burns, and none whatever in the writings of Scott. The romantic and chivalrous characteristics of Scotland and Scotsmen have been recorded by Scott. Burns has gone a step further, and has sung of the domestic relations and homely lives of the people. But it was left for MacDonald to combine the two with that profoundly religious feeling which underlies the true Scotch character, and to present them as thus found in persons naturally thoughtful and devotional.

One cannot read his "Robert Falconer" without a feeling of reverence for the youth who, in spite of the trials and sorrows of his weary search for his lost father, persevered to the end; and who, through all the wickedness of the dens and slums of London, not only kept himself pure, but was the means of salvation to many a poor soul struggling with sin but unable to sustain the strife alone. How we rejoice when he leads his father, reclaimed at last, safely to his old mother waiting for him at the gates of day! And we unite with the author in the glad words of thanksgiving for the meeting between mother and son, "*When shall man dare say that God has done all he can?*"

In "Malcolm" and the "Marquis of Lossie," the reader enters into the very spirit of the romance. The hero's course is watched with anxiety and sympathy; anxiety because of the trials which beset him, and sympathy for the upright man who dares to suffer for the truth and right. So in all MacDonald's heroes, from David Elginbrod down all the line, are found those manly characteristics and that Christian spirit which inspire us with a higher respect for mankind; and as we lay aside his books we are conscious that our reading has strengthened and uplifted us.

In his portrayal of female character he shows his ideal conception of woman, and heightens it by contrast with his evil women; for those of the first class are radiant with spiritu-

ality, goodness and virtue, while those of the latter, though few in number, are the very incarnation of wickedness. He succeeds better in these high ideal representations, than in depicting the gay and frivolous. All through his writings we can discern his great love and veneration for woman, and the recognition of her inalienable right to the respect of man. He feels that the majority of men have an instinct in this direction, and he would that woman should be very careful that the charm be not dispelled by any act of her own. He would have her scorn to descend a step below the level of her highest plane.

But not alone in the delineation of Scotch life and customs does he excel ; he is apt and true in his descriptions of England and the English. He has an extensive knowledge of the prejudices and feelings which enter into social life in England. But he seems to prefer Scotch portrayals, and he has written the greater part of his books in the Scotch dialect. He seems to have given himself more freely and earnestly to such works, and in them we find a different spirit, and perhaps a stronger, than in the others.

Having noticed his characteristics as an author, there remains one topic the omission of which would leave this article incomplete,—his Religion. Whatever he calls himself, or is called by others, he is virtually a Universalist. In his works he is constantly affirming the *omnipotence* and beneficence of the love of God. His own words can best convey his belief concerning the severity and sufficiency of Divine Love, and the persistency with which it pursues the sinful soul until at last it is brought to repentance and faith. From "Robert Falconer" we have such passages as this :

" But tell them that the fire of God without and within them will compel them to bethink themselves ; that the vision of an open door beyond the smoke and the flames will ever urge them to call up the ice-bound will, that it may obey ; that the torturing spirit of God in them will keep their consciences awake, not to remind them of what they ought to have done, but to tell them what they *must* do now, and hell will no longer fascinate them. Tell them that there is *no* refuge from the

compelling Love of God, save that Love itself, — that He is in hell, too, and that if they make their bed in hell they shall not escape him, and then, perhaps, they will have some true presentiment of the “worm that dieth not and the fire that is not quenched.”

Eric Ericson, a young student, honestly doubting, and naturally atheistic (but yet deploring his lack of faith), in a conversation with Robert regarding a narrow-minded and dogmatic sermon which the latter had heard, said,—

“Robert, one thing is certain : if there be a God at all, He is not like that. If there be a God at all, we shall know Him by His perfection,—His grand perfect truth, fairness, love,—a love to make life an absolute good, — not a mere accommodation of difficulties, not a mere preponderance of the balance on the side of well-being. Love only could have been able to create. But they don't seem jealous for the glory of God, those men. They don't mind a speck, or even a blot, here and there upon Him. The world doesn't make them miserable. They can get over the misery of their fellowmen without being troubled about them, or about the God that could let such things be. They represent a God who does wonderfully well, on the whole, after a middling fashion. I want a God who loves perfectly. He may kill ; He may torture even ; but if it be for love's sake, Lord, here am I. Do with me as Thou wilt.”

Another quotation from the same book :

“He strengthened his heart for the conflict by saying that if *he* would do this for *his* father, what would not God do for His child ? Had he not proved already that, if there was any truth in the grand story of the world's redemption through that obedience unto the death, that his devotion was entire, and would leave nothing undone that could be done to lift this sheep out of the pit into whose darkness and filth he had fallen ?”

All who have read “Robert Falconer” must remember his talk with his grandmother, in which he tells her his plan of emptying hell, when by the grace of Jesus Christ he has entered heaven, and is seated with the blessed at the heavenly feast :

“Weel, if I win in there, the verra first nicht I sit down wi’ the lave o’ them, I’m gaein’ to rise up an’ say—that is if the Maister at the heid o’ the table disna’ bid me sit doon — an’ say : ‘ Brithers an’ sisters, the haill o’ ye, hearken to me for ae minute ; an’, O Lord ! if I say wrang, jist tak’ the speech frae me, and I’ll sit doon dumb and rebukit. We’re a’ here by grace and no by merit, save His, as ye a’ ken better nor I can tell ye, for ye hae been langer here nor me. But it’s jist ruggin’ an’ rivin’ at my hert to think o’ them ’at’s doon there. Maybe ye can hear them. I canna. Noo, we hae nae merit, an’ they hae nae merit, an’ what for are we here and them there ? But we’re washed clean and innocent noo ; and noo, when there’s no wyte lying upo’ oursel’s, it seems to me that we micht heir some o’ the sins o’ them ’at hae ower mony. I call upo’ ilk’ ane o’ ye ’at has a frien’ or a neebor down youner, to rise up and taste nor bite nor sup mair till we gang up a’thegither to the fut o’ the throne, and pray the Lord to lat’s gang and du as the Maister did afore’s and beir their griefs, and carry their sorrows doon in hell there ; if it maybe that they may repent and get remission o’ their sins, an’ come up here wi’ us at the lang last, and sit doon wi’ ’s at this table, a’ throu’ the merits o’ oor Saviour Jesus Christ, at the heid o’ the table there. Amen.’ ”

He has represented the Universalist faith very precisely in “David Elginbrod,” a grand ideal representative of the Scotch race. The statement of David’s belief is very brief: In the Bible, in the world, in time, in eternity, he saw nothing but the interpretation or expansion of the sentence, “God is Love.” In the following conversation between David and a young tutor, Hugh Sutherland, this doctrine is clearly exemplified. They have been speaking on religious topics, and Hugh says:

“Would you do nothing that other people should know God, David ? ”

“Anything ’at he likes, but I *wad tak tent o’ interferin’*. He’s at it himsel’ frae mornin’ to nicht, frae year’s en’ to year’s en’.”

“But you seem to me to make ont that God is nothing but love.”

“Ay, naething but love ; what for no ? ”

“Because we are told he is just.”

"Wad he lang be just gin he did not loe us?"

"But does he not punish sin?"

"Wad it be ony kindness no to punish sin, no to use all means to put awa the ae ill thing frae us? Whatever may be meant by the place of meesery, depen' upo't, Mr. Sutherland', its only anither form o' love, love shinin' through the fogs o' ill an' so gart leuk verra different thereby. Man, rather nor see my Maggy,—an' ye'll no doubt 'at I loe her,—rather nor see my Maggy do an ill thing, I'd see her lyin' deid at my feet. But supposin' the ill thing ance done, its not at my feet I wad lay her, but upon my hert, with my auld arms aboot her to haud the further ill aff her. An' shall mortal man be more just than God? Shall a man be more pure than his Maker?"

From one of MacDonald's unspoken sermons, "It shall not be forgiven," the following extract is taken:

"No one, however, supposes for a moment that a man who has once refused to forgive his brother, shall therefore be condemned to endless unforgiveness and unforgivingness. What is meant is that while man continues in such a mood God cannot be with him as his friend; not that He will not be his friend, but the friendship being all on one side—that of God—must take forms such as the man will not be able to recognize as friendship. Forgiveness, as I have said, is not love merely, but love *conveyed as love* to the erring, so establishing peace toward God, and forgiveness towards our neighbor.

"To return, then, to our immediate text: Is the refusal of forgiveness contained in it a condemnation to irrecoverable impenitence? Strange righteousness would be the decree that because a man has done wrong—let us say has done wrong so often and so much that he *is* wrong—he shall forever remain wrong! Do not tell me the condemnation is only negative—a leaving of the man to the consequences of his own will, or at most a withdrawal from him of the spirit which he has despised. God will not take shelter behind such a jugglery of logic or metaphysics. He is neither schoolman nor theologian, but our Father in Heaven. He knows that that in Him would be the same unforgivingness for which He refuses to forgive man. The only tenable ground for supporting such a doctrine is that God *cannot* do more; that Satan has overcome, and that Jesus, amongst his own brothers and sisters in the image of God, has been less strong than the ad-

versary, the destroyer. What, then, shall I say of such a doctrine of devils as that, even if a man did repent, God would or could not forgive him ? ”

From the sermon on “ The Consuming Fire,” we have the following passages, as logical as they are eloquent :

“ But at length, O God, wilt Thou not cast death and hell into the lake of fire — even into Thine own consuming self ?

“ Death shall then die everlastingly, and hell itself shall pass away. Then, indeed, wilt Thou be All in all. For then our poor brothers and sisters everyone — O God, we trust in Thee, the Consuming Fire,— shall have been burnt clean and brought home. For if their moans myriads of ages away would turn heaven for us into hell — shall a man be more merciful than God ? Shall of all His glories His mercy alone not be infinite ? Shall a brother love a brother more than the Father loves a son ? more than the brother Christ loves his brother ? Would he not die yet again to save one brother more ? . . . It is so plain that every one may see it, every one ought to see it, every one shall see it. It must be so. He is utterly good and true to us, nor shall anything withstand His will. . . . Our longing desires can no more exhaust the fulness of the treasures of the Godhead, than our imagination can touch their measure. Of Him not a thought, not a joy, not a hope of one of His creatures can pass unseen ; and while one of them remains unsatisfied He is not Lord over all.”

From these extracts we may get a clear conception of the faith which animates the works and governs the life of George MacDonald. Never himself doubting the Fatherly care and omnipotent love of God, he constantly aims to stimulate the consciences and to develop the faith of his readers.

Charles L. Simmons.

ARTICLE VI.

Theories of Skepticism — Materialism.

PART II.

In a previous article on materialism, I reviewed the arguments presented by the advocates of this much vaunted theory of Skepticism, and attempted to show that the hypothesis of the eternity of matter, persistence of force, indestructibility of energy, and the doctrine of evolution had not been demonstrated as doctrines of science, and even if they had been, they would not prove materialism. There are two other theories of the origin of life and mind upon which materialists rely, known among scientific writers as that of the spontaneous generation of living organisms, and the kindred theory that mind is the result of the molecular action of the brain.

The first is necessary to enable materialists to bridge the chasm between the living and the dead without an act of creation, which would show in nature the presence of creative mind and will. The second is necessary to show how mind springs from matter, and to reveal the method by which a material cause can produce an effect greater than itself. It is true that this is a violation of an axiom of philosophy; but what does materialism care about the first principles of science, laws of thought, the intuitions of the reason, and the axioms of philosophy?

The theory of the spontaneous generation of living organisms has not been verified. It is not a fact of science. Dr. Bastian claims to have demonstrated it by experiment;¹ but Dr. Tyndall, by a long series of experiments carefully conducted, has shown that he was mistaken.² But if spontaneous generation was a verified fact, it would not prove materialism by proving the material origin of life. Generation, whether spontaneous or from living germs, is the method and not the cause of the origin of living organisms. The existence of the method proves the existence of a cause that works

¹ Bastian's Beginnings of Life.

² Popular Science Monthly.

according to such method. The only cause adequate to produce all living organisms by any conceivable method is a spiritual, omniscient, omnipresent and omnipotent Creator. It is thus seen that the theory of the spontaneous generation of living things, even were it true, would not show that matter was the efficient cause of life, and failing in that it could not prove the truth of materialism. But chemical and vital forces are so unlike in their action as to show an unlikeness in nature. They act in different ways, move in opposite directions, and produce different results. Vital force is constructive, chemical force is destructive; the vital is an organizing, the chemical a disorganizing, force. The one builds up an organism, the other disintegrates and destroys it. In all the living processes of nature vital force controls, governs, and directs the chemical forces. The vital is master, and the chemical forces servants, in all the building and organizing work of Nature.³ Forces so unlike in their nature, action and function could not have been evolved the one from the other.⁴ Involution must be equal to evolution, because it is a self-evident proposition that from nothing nothing can come. Nothing can be evolved from matter that was not previously contained in it; and as life and mind are not essential properties of matter, they can never be evolved from it. This is self-evident. There is no known power or process in nature by which the living is derived from the dead without an act of divine creative quickening. Life is not the result of organization, but organization is the result of the action of life. Life is a force which reveals its presence by the production of living forms, vital organisms.⁵ It resists the action of chemical forces on living plants, animals and men, and at the same time directs them to co-operate with it in the construction of living forms.⁶

Life as it thus controls matter and governs physical forces, shows its superiority to matter, which would not be the case if the cause of all life was material. The origin of life is

³ Liebig's Chemistry.

⁴ Tiedeman's Physiology of Man, p. 14.

⁵ Liebig's Animal Chemistry. Palne's Institutes of Medicine, 112

⁶ Mulder's Chemistry of Vegetable and Animal Physiology, pp. 54-59,

spiritual, and its presence and power cannot be explained by the hypothesis of materialism. The theory that all mind is the result of the molecular activity of the brain, though held by some Christian scientists in common with materialists, tends to materialism. Professor A. E. Dolbeare, of Tufts College, says, "We find mind associated with matter, protoplasm in some form. We have no knowledge of mind apart from such association. And furthermore, wherever we find mind thus manifested we find an organ called a brain, made of nerve tissue of complex chemical composition, and furnished with a wonderful supply of blood vessels."⁷ If this statement of the Professor were true, it would only prove that brain structure and a nervous organization were necessary as instruments to the manifestation of mind, and not as the active cause in its creation. But the statement is not correct, for we find creative mind revealed or manifested in nature in the absence of brain structure. It is only true where we find mind manifested in connection with the living organisms of men or animals. It does not touch the larger question of the manifestation of creative and controlling mind in the universe. But nature reveals the presence of mind in the wise, benevolent, orderly and harmonious movement of her forces, as really as man does in his rational actions. We are not conscious of mental action in either case. We infer the presence of mind because the actions of men and the movements of nature are rational. And brain structure is no more the cause of the presence of mind in man, than it is of the presence of mind in nature. Material forms are the instruments of the manifestation of mind in both.

The Professor thinks the instrumental relation of brain to mind will not account for the influence of food and stimulants on mental manifestations.⁸ But why not? The brain is a living organism, and food and stimulants will affect its action as a living organ, whether the relation of that action to the mind is instrumental or causal. Whatever disturbs the healthy and

⁷ *UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY* for April, 1876, pp. 216, 216.

⁸ *UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY*, April, 1876, p. 217.

normal action of the brain will modify the manifestations of mind as really if the brain were the instrument of thought, as it would if it were the cause of thought. If the brain manifests mind in thought, emotion and volition, it does it by action; and whatever disturbs this action will modify the mental manifestation. The effect of food and stimulants on the healthy action of the brain is the only question that the science of physiology can answer. Whether that action sustains a causal or instrumental relation to thought and its manifestation is a question of psychology and not of physiology. It is a question for philosophy, and not for science, for science deals only with phenomena. It is the function of philosophy to deal with causes. Physiology as a science can only deal with the functions of a living, material organism, and is, therefore, wholly incompetent to determine what is the cause of thought, emotion, volition and action. It can show the instrumental relation of brain to mind, but it cannot show any causal relation between the two. It can show, and has shown, by the researches of its most eminent investigators, that the brain is not the cause of mind. They have pointed to the fact that the very structure of the organ shows that it is an instrument of the mind and not its cause. The whole nervous system, the brain included, is a mechanism, and requires a force to move it.⁹ This force is mind.

This shows that the claim made by Professor Dolbeare and others in the interest of materialism, that the cause of mental phenomena is purely a question for physiologists,¹⁰ is unscientific and unphilosophical. Physiologists can study the phenomena of the material instrument of mind, but cannot determine the question of the spiritual cause of thought, emotion and volition. This is not a question of physiology alone. Psychology and philosophy must contribute something to the solution of the problem presented in the relations of body and mind. To qualify an author to speak with authority on this subject, he should not only be a physiologist, but a psycholo-

⁹ Draper's *Physiology*. Vol. i.; pp. 285, 287, 321.

¹⁰ *UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY*, April, 1876, p. 119.

gist, and should not only understand science, but philosophy. There are investigators who have studied both sides of this problem, and have investigated the relations of mind and matter as philosophers and scientists, and from the standpoint of consciousness and physiology. Lotze of Germany, Carpenter, Beal and Murphy, of England, and Draper, Paine and Ray of America are writers of this class.¹¹ They are men of large culture, large attainment, and profound erudition. Any one will be convinced of this who will carefully study their works. To my mind, their science, philosophy and logic are profound and convincing. The conclusions of such men eminent as scientific specialists cannot be set aside by the mere dictum of materialists. Only conclusive reasoning, established facts and verified hypotheses can do this. Materialism as a system of thought is not sustained by this class of evidence; and therefore is not prepared to meet and answer the arguments of these writers against its claims and theories.¹²

Dr. Draper, on the subject of the relations of brain and mind, states in his physiology, which is a work of recognized authority, that

“The convolutions of the brain and other nervous arcs as structures are merely automatic, and it can display no phenomena as an organism of itself, but requires the influence of an external agent. If the optical apparatus be inert and without value save under the influence of light; if the auditory apparatus yields no result save under the impressions of sound; since there is between these structures and the elementary structure of the cerebrum a perfect analogy, we are entitled to come to the same conclusion in this instance as in those, and asserting the absolute inertness of the cerebral structure in itself, to impute the phenomena it displays to an agent as perfectly external to the body, and as independent of it, as light and sound, and that agent is the soul.”

“And thus it may be proved that those actions which we term intellectual do not spring from mere matter alone, nor are they functions of mere material combinations; for though

¹¹ See Lotze Lectures, Carpenter's Mental Physiology, Beal's Physical Theories of Life and Mind.

¹² Murphy's Habit and Intelligence, Draper's Physiology, Paine's Soul and Instinct, Ray's Insanity.

it is indisputably true that mind seems to grow with the bodily structure and declines with it, exhibiting the full perfection of its powers at the period of bodily maturity, it may be demonstrated that all this arises from the increase, perfection and diminution of the instrument through which it is working. An accomplished artisan cannot display his power through an imperfect tool, nor if the tool should be broken or become useless through impairment, is it any proof that the artisan has ceased to exist; and so though we admit that there is a correspondence between the development of the mind and the growth of the body, we deny that it follows from that, either that the mind did not pre-exist, or that the death of the body implies its annihilation." "The physiologist admits the existence of an external nature, and recognizes equally the existence of an immaterial spirit, and to their action or relation to each other traces the resulting phenomena."¹²

This is the language of a philosopher and scientist, and shows that in the judgment of an eminent physiologist, there is nothing in this science to support the claims of materialism. Its phenomena show that man is a spiritual and immortal being.

Dr. Draper, in meeting the charge that the study of physiology leads to materialism, says :

"But what if it should turn out that from the study of the cerebral mechanism, distinct proof can be obtained on this point,—proof of just as cogent a nature in support of the existence of the soul, as that which we have of the existence of the external world, and of precisely the same character." After describing the constitution of the nervous arc, he continues : "Thus constituted this mechanism is ready to receive external impressions, which, if such language may appropriately be used, are converted or reflected in part by the ganglions into motions, and the residue retained. But the arc, viewed by itself, is a mere instrument, ready, it is true, for action, but possessing no interior power of its own. It is as automatic as any mechanical contrivance in which, before a given motion can be made, a certain spring must be touched. The essential condition of the activity of such a nervous arc is, therefore, the presence and influence of an external agent—a something which can commence the primitive impression, for without it the mechanism can display no kind of result.

¹² Draper's Physiology, pp. 285, 286, 287.

Moreover, there must be an adaptation between the nature of that agent and the structure thus brought in relation with it."¹⁴

There is no such agent but the human soul, for no other finite agent is able to perform the functions which this organ discharges. The relation of the soul to the nervous mechanism is illustrated by the relation of the operator to the battery and wires of the telegraph. It sets free, directs and controls nervous force. In other words uses it in the working of the nervous mechanism. The battery generates its own force, and on its size and strength depends the extent of its action. But the most perfect electrical machine that was ever constructed will not convey an intelligent message without an operator. So the nervous system produces its own force, and on the size, strength and health of the brain depends the strength of thought, emotion, volition and action; but the most perfect brain that ever was developed will not manifest rational thought and action unless it is used by a rational human soul. The thing to be explained in man, and in nature is the manifestation of intelligence and reason. It is not motion, but intelligence and rational motion — motion controlled by a purpose and directed to an end in nature, that demands the presence of something more than matter and force to account for it. So in man it is not action, but rational action that demands more than brain structure and nervous force to explain it. Matter and force alone, neither in nature nor in man, will explain the presence and manifestation of reason and intelligence.

The structure and wind of an organ will not account for the music without the presence of the musician; the water and machinery of a factory will not explain its products and fabrics without the presence and action of intelligent operatives; so brain organism and nervous force will not explain the rational thoughts and actions of man without the presence of a rational soul. Any other theory would give us an intelligent effect without an intelligent cause. This would be a violation of an axiom of philosophy, an intuition of the

¹⁴ Draper's *Physiology*, pp. 288, 284.

reason, and one of the necessary laws of thought.¹⁵ To disregard in our reasoning the axioms of philosophy and science, the intuitions of the mind and the laws of thought, is to render correct reasoning impossible, and destroy the very foundations of knowledge and science. This materialism has to do in order to sustain its hypothesis. To do this is destructive to materialism as a system of either scientific or philosophical truth, because it destroys all truth, makes knowledge impossible and removes the very foundations of all science and philosophy. If human nature is not trustworthy, and human faculties, intellectual and moral, are not reliable, all theories of the origin of the universe and its phenomena fail.

The brain is the instrument and not the cause of mind. There is brain action that attends mental action; it is not, however, the cause of mental action, but its effect. Its relation to thought is not that of cause, but it is that of an instrument. Muller says, "The action of the mind is dependent upon the integrity of the fibrous structure and composition of the brain. . . Still this amounts to nothing more than that the brain by its organization is the instrument by which the mind operates and is active."¹⁶ This able writer and standard authority in the science of physiology holds with Dr. Draper the instrumental relation of the brain to thought. Solly says: "If there is one point in the physiology of the brain more unequivocally demonstrated than another it is that these ganglia are the instruments of the mind."¹⁷

Dr. Ray says: "It can hardly be necessary at the present time to prove the fact of the dependence of mind upon the brain for its external manifestations; that, in short, the brain is the material organ of the intellectual and effective powers. Whatever opinion may be entertained of the nature of mind, it is generally admitted, at least by all enlightened physiologists, that it must of necessity be put in connection with matter, and that the brain is the part of the body by which this

¹⁵ See Whewell's *Novum Organon Renovatum*, p. 13; Haven's *Mental Philosophy*, p. 267.

¹⁶ Muller's *Physiology*, vol. i., p. 817, 819.

¹⁷ Solly on *The Human Brain*, p. 346.

connection is effected.”¹⁸ This profound and learned writer teaches that the brain is the organ for the manifestations of mind, and the instrument by which it is connected with matter. There is no inference drawn from this fact that it is the cause of mind. Dr. Ray is a scientist and a philosopher, but he is not a materialist. Dr. Carpenter holds that the cerebrum is the instrument of the psychical or inner life.¹⁹ The life here spoken of is the life of the intellect, emotions and will—the life of thought, feeling and volition. The cerebrum is the *instrument*, not the *cause* of this life. The soul is the cause and the brain is the instrument of all mental, emotional and volitional activity. This view will bring into harmony all the physiological and psychological phenomena of man’s life, and thus adjust the facts and doctrines of science with the facts and doctrines of morality and religion.

“There is no thought without phosphorus.” This remark of Moleschott has been called a trenchant remark. It is really an empty truism. Unless it is confined to the experience and manifestation of thought by men it is untrue, for the world is a revelation of thought without brain mechanism. If it is thus restricted, it means this: we have no knowledge of human thought without the human brain as its organ and instrument. Phosphorus is an element in brain structure, and as there is no human thought in our present form of being without brain organism, there is no thought without phosphorus.²⁰ The nervous mechanism, and the brain as a part of it, is an instrument, and demands an agent to use it just as any other machine does. The existence of a musical instrument proves the existence of a musician; so the existence of the nervous mechanism that is adapted to use, but must be used by an agent external to itself, proves the existence of the soul.²¹ This argument from the physiology of the brain for the existence of the soul is conclusive.

¹⁸ Ray’s Medical Jurisprudence of Insanity, p. 188.

¹⁹ Carpenter’s Mental Physiology, p. 120.

²⁰ Cosmic Philosophy, vol. ii., p. 436.

²¹ Draper’s Physiology, pp. 286, 287, 321.

The structure of the brain, its organic quality, and chemical composition cannot be reconciled with the claim of materialists that it is the efficient cause of thought. In all the organs of the body except the brain, great advances have been made in the knowledge of their physiological laws; and the amount of this knowledge bears a close relation to the obvious adaptation of each organ to the discharge of its function. The adaptation of the heart to the propulsion of the blood, the adaptation of the intestinal canal to the purpose of digestion and nutrition, and the lungs to the purpose of respiration, are so obvious and simple, that a positive knowledge of the laws of their action has been gained.²² But it is quite otherwise with the brain. The mass of that which we call nerve substance, because nerve function is found to inhere thereto, possesses no adaptation which we can trace in its structure to the function of thought. An agglomeration of delicate cells in intimate connection with minute tubes or filaments which communicate impressions made upon the cells at one end to those cells which lie at their other extremities; this is the nervous apparatus. Its *modus operandi* is, and probably will be, utterly unknown to us.²³ How any combination of cells can be attended by processes of thought is to us inconceivable. It is contrary to all the analogies of physiology that the brain should be the cause of thought when we cannot trace in the structure of the organ any adaptation to such a function. In all other organs the adaptation to function is revealed in their structure, and can be traced by the eye of science. This would be true of the brain if its function was the production of thought as its cause.

The fact of the conscious unity and continuity of thought is in conflict with the claim of materialism that brain is its cause. There is no permanence in the structure of the brain. It is ever changing. It is all the time being renewed. It is not the same organ in its material elements for two days in succession. How can there be unity of thought when there

²² Bucknell and Tuke on Insanity, p. 841.

²³ *Ibid.* 1 vol., 8vo., pp 342.

is no unity in the cause, permanence of thought when its cause is ever changing, and continuity of thought when its cause does not continue the same for any twenty-four hours? ²⁴ The brain waste that is all the time going on as the result of its action, and the formation of new tissue as the result of nutrition, demonstrates that the brain has neither unity, permanence, nor continuity of structure, and it is therefore evident it cannot be the cause of unity of consciousness, permanence of character and continuity of thought.

The power of mind to control matter shows its natural superiority, and conclusively proves that it is not material in its nature or origin. The soul controls the body, and through the body as its instrument, controls the elements and forces of the material universe. Soil, climate and seasons have been changed by man.²⁵ He has changed the face of nature, and created a new heaven and a new earth. The world in which we live to-day is not the old world as God created it. It is another and very different world. The changes in its surface, in the direction of its rivers, in its fauna and flora, in its mountains and plains, its soil and productions, all show man's power to modify, change, subdue, use, improve and injure nature, thus revealing his spiritual and supernatural origin. Man is a creator.²⁶ He has been endowed with creative power. Language, art, science, literature, law, government and civilization, are all human creations. They have been created by the intelligence, reason, conscience and will of man. They show the divinity of his nature and the divinity of his origin. The source of his being is in God, and not in matter. He descended from the infinite Father in heaven. He is spiritual, and not material. In his higher nature he is divine and not animal, heavenly and not earthly.

Materialism cannot account for sensation. The materialists have always assumed that the existence of matter was positively known, while they have contended that the existence of

²⁴ Dalton's *Physiology*.

²⁵ *Man and Nature*, by G. P. Marsh, p. 48.

²⁶ *Biblical Review*. By W. E. Manley, D.D. Vol. I., p. 56.

mind was only a matter of inference. Modern physiology has changed all this by showing that matter is only a permanent condition of sensation.²⁷ We have no knowledge of its existence at all as an entity, nor as a sensation, but only as a condition of the sensations of which we are conscious. In fact, the Idealism of Bishop Berkely has been revived, if not in form in substance, as the result of recent experiments in the physiology of sensation. D. Alembert distinctly doubted the possibility of knowing real objects. Lichtenberg, who in all his philosophizing never forgot that he was a physicist, declares it to be impossible to refute Idealism. When we believe we see things we see only ourselves. We can only know ourselves and the changes that take place in us. When anything acts upon us, the effect depends not only upon the acting object, but also upon the subject acted on. We know our sensations, but we do not know there is anything answering to them external to ourselves by which they are produced in us.²⁸ Let the materialist assume that there is in the body a physical mechanism which produces the conclusions of the understanding and the senses, then we stand face to face with the questions: What is the body? what is matter? what is the physical? And modern physiology, just as much as philosophy, must answer that they are all our ideas; necessary ideas, ideas resulting according to natural laws, but still never the things themselves.²⁹ "This means, of course, that no materialism of any kind is any longer maintainable. The struggle between mind and body is ended in favor of the former, and only thus is guaranteed the true unity of all existence."

It is thus seen that in the light of modern science a rational materialism is no longer possible. The question may be asked, Why have we so many materialists? It is the result of scientific specialism, narrow culture, and one-sided development. The error in the reasoning of materialists is found in this.—they confound conditions with causes. This is both unscientific and unphilosophical. Conditions are only the circum-

²⁷ Lange's History of Materialism. Vol. iii., pp. 204, 205, 206.

²⁸ Helmholtz's Popular Lectures, 1864 and 1871.

²⁹ Lange's History of Materialism, vol. iii., p. 228.

stances under which causes operate, but are in no rational sense causes themselves. This error runs through the reasoning of all writers who advocate the doctrines of materialism. Another error common to this class of writers is to confound the method with the agent, and to assume when they have discovered the method in which a thing has been done that they have discovered the agent who did it. They also use the term law in the sense of cause, and agent, and are thus led into great logical confusion of thought. Matter conditions the manifestation of force, and materialists say it is the cause of force. Matter and force condition the manifestation of life, and materialists conclude they are the cause of life. A brain organism conditions the manifestations of mind in man and animals, and materialists infer it is the cause of mind. The body conditions the action and manifestations of the soul in our earthly state and under our material relations, and materialists hold that it is the cause of the soul. The environment conditions human progress, and the materialist assumes that it is the cause of all advancement and civilization among men.⁸⁰ We can trace this logical defect in all their reasoning. It is the great error in the logic of materialism, and accounts for the strange and absurd conclusions that form so large a part of this system of philosophy.

I have thus shown that the doctrines of materialism are untrue, and have pointed out the defective logic by which these erroneous conclusions are reached. The doctrine of materialists, that nothing is true that cannot be tested by the senses, is the fruitful source of many of the errors of their system, and underlies much of the bad logic and confused thought to which we are treated by this class of thinkers. A moment's reflection will show its utter fallacy. There are very few things the truth of which can be tested by the senses. We do not know matter, mind, thought, force, or life by sensation. These are all beyond the reach of the senses. Our knowledge of their existence depends upon consciousness and inference.

⁸⁰ History of Civilization. T. H. Buckle. Vol. I., p. 108. Spencer's Principles of Sociology.

Many truths are self-evident and are known by our intuitions.⁸¹ It is this class of truths that underlie all our scientific and practical knowledge.

The practical application of the dictum of materialism would make all knowledge impossible, and end in the paralysis of all thought. A principle of reasoning so revolutionary and destructive cannot be true. The attempted defence of materialism based upon the likeness of the brute to human intelligence will not stand the test of scientific investigation. The intelligence of the brute is instinctive, the intelligence of man is rational; the intelligence of the brute is stationary the intelligence of man is progressive; the intelligence of the brute is unconscious, the intelligence of man is conscious; the intellect or instinct of the brute acts under a law of necessity, the reason of man under the law of liberty.⁸² The difference between instinct and reason is so wide that we cannot infer that it is a difference in degree and not in nature, or in quantity and not in quality of intellect. The brute is not an undeveloped man. Nor is this difference between animals and men owing entirely to the fact that man has a larger and more complicated brain than the animal creation. The fact is, the horse, the elephant, and the whale have brains that in size, and the number and depth of their convolutions, are equal to the human brain.⁸³ This shows that the difference between men and animals intellectually is not simply a question of anatomy. Nor is it a question of physiology alone. It belongs to the higher department of psychology. Men and animals are not identical in nature as materialists assume, and it is therefore not logical to infer that because brutes are mortal men must be. Thus the last stronghold of materialism is demolished, and man's spirituality and immortality are vindicated. Man is a spiritual child of the spiritual and divine Father, and is destined to an immortal life of holiness and happiness.

Wm. Tucker, D. D.

⁸¹ Intuitions of the Mind. Rev. Jas. McCosh, LL.D. Vol. i., pp. 23-25.

⁸² Instinct in Animals and Men. P. A. Chadbourne, LL.D. pp. 142, 143, 145.

⁸³ Relations of Mind and Brain. Henry Chalderwood, LL.D. pp. 141, 175, 181.

ARTICLE VII.

A Universal Religion.

CHRISTIANITY is peculiarly fitted to become the prevailing religion among mankind. It has within it elements which adapt themselves to all ages and conditions of human life. To the aged patriarch, bending beneath the heavy weight of years and infirmities ; to the man in middle life, full of the energy and enterprise of the great busy world around him ; to the youth, just emerging from the season of dependent childhood, and looking out eagerly into the unknown future just before him ; to the little lisping child, just taking its first lessons in the great school of life, — to all of these, in the variety of their conditions and needs, do the words and the spirit of Christ come with strength and meaning adapted to the necessities of each.

No other form of religion is so well calculated to become universal, as that which Jesus both taught and lived ; because none other has been capable of adapting itself to the diversified wants of humanity. Other religions have been helpful only to certain races or classes of men. Beyond these, they have exercised little power. However well adapted they may have been to those special classes or conditions, outside of those they were useless. And even among their most ardent disciples, all those religions prove narrow and partial in their influence. There are only certain limited phases of human life upon which they can make any impression. They possess not the power to lift man into completeness ; they do not have universal sway over the individual life, and in many respects fail at the exact points where weak human nature needs divine assistance.

The Christian religion, on the other hand, fits into every condition of earthly experience ; is equally applicable to all races and nations of men. Unlike many other religions, it is not a cast-iron system, which can take in only such as have acquired a certain length or breadth, or who by their educa-

tion and surroundings are adapted to its unyielding rules. Seeing men in their want, in their sinfulness, in their weakness, in their helpless and miserable conditions, it goes to them with the needed supply of strength and grace, which shall lift them out of their degradation, and bring them into their true and normal relations with the God who made them and with the world in which they live. Christianity has something to say to each man, woman and child in the universe. It has remedies for all the diseases of the moral nature; has the healing balm for all the wounds of the heart; has the oil of consolation for the mourning, the staff of strength for the weak and doubting, the bread of life for those who are spiritually famishing, and the waters of everlasting life for those who thirst for the living God; and more than all, it furnishes the effective antidote for the terrible poison of sin. It touches and affects all this vast variety of human infirmities, because it was designed for man, — adapted to his nature, — fitted to his peculiar needs.

No religion but Christianity attempts to go down to human nature, in all its vileness and degradation, — taking man just as he is, and then raising him to the highest possible condition that he is capable of reaching. No other religion takes man *at his worst* and brings him *to his best*. This adaptability of the words and spirit of Christ to all phases of human life, is one of the strong evidences of the divine origin of the Christian religion. To reveal and furnish such a truth and such a spirit as breathed through the lips and life of Jesus — a truth and spirit exactly fitted to the nature and needs of man, is exactly in accord with the divine procedure in other things, as we see them all about us. It is in precise harmony with everything which God has done in supplying the *physical* needs of his children. Men are made with certain bodily wants. One of these is the necessity for food. His very existence depends (when in his normal relation to the laws of health) upon the nourishment which he daily receives into his physical system. The same being who created him with this need, has also placed within his reach that which will

supply it. By the use of the intelligence which man possesses, he is able to take the materials furnished him and convert them into nourishing food; or, where the original substance is adapted to his necessities, he can take that at first hand, without the aid of artificial means. What a blunder it would have been, if at certain stages in man's existence no food had been supplied for his body. Supposing the bodily nourishment of man were only suited to infancy; or suppose that nothing could be found in nature that would serve as food during sickness, — that man's food was suited only to a condition of health and strength. These things would prove manifest inconsistencies on the part of the Creator; who having made a creature with certain imperative needs, had failed to supply the material for satisfying those needs. But in no respect is this the case. Food for babe, for youth, for manhood, for old age; food for health, for strength, for sickness, for weakness, — food for every conceivable condition of physical life is furnished, and every need is met by its corresponding supply.

This law holds good all through the range of man's material nature. The eye was made for light; the ear was made for sound; the lungs were made for air; and forthwith light greets the eye — sound breaks upon the ear — air is furnished for the lungs. Each faculty and power lives by that which supplies its need. What man requires for a healthy, vigorous existence in the body, is all about him in abundance; and he has but to open the organs of sight, hearing, respiration, and all the senses which bring him in contact with the outer world, and he at once finds all nature adapted to his wants.

God *could* undoubtedly have made a creature without any of these demands or needs, and he might have passed for a *man*; but God did not do so, and therefore, if a human creature is to be regarded as a man, in a physical sense, according to the divine ideal, he must have these needs of his body, and they must be supplied if he comes to full development. So, we presume the Almighty *could* have made a being in the shape of a man, and yet not have put any of the

seeds of weakness and infirmity within him. He might have made him so that he could not sin ; so that he could not suffer pain ; so that sickness would be impossible to him ; so that sorrow would be unknown to him ; so that temptation would not beset him ; so that burdens would not make him anxious and weary. Such a creature might have been introduced upon the earth as a substitute for the being we now call man. But such a creature has not been made and called or recognized as a man. Such a being might exist, but it would lack some of the essential characteristics of humanity. The divine ideal of a man, was a being with a moral nature, liable to sin, because subject to moral law and having the power of free choice between good and evil, — and yet not necessarily sinful ; a being with a nervous system, liable to suffer pain, in consequence of some infringement upon physical law ; a being with intelligence, capable of learning and understanding the laws and principles of the universe ; a being with affections, passions, and appetites, which when not properly trained and directed, might lead to suffering in a variety of ways ; a being in whose physical organism were sown the seeds of decay and death, but the essence of whose life is immortal and indestructible. This is, briefly, the description of the being that God has made, and which we call man. Whatever else might have been created and made to pass as a specimen of the human species, this is what actually was made, and which we find all about us in various stages of development.

Having, then, brought such a being into existence, as the divine ideal of a man, — a creature who by the very necessities of his nature, is subject to temptation, and weaknesses and failings — having brought this human creature into existence, with all this variety of needs in his moral make-up, why should not the necessary supply be furnished ? Would it not have been as great a mistake on the part of the Creator, to have left man without moral and spiritual helps suited to his needs, as it would have been were he left without a suitable quality of food, at a certain stage of his physical life ?

Christianity, as exemplified in the teachings and life of

Jesus, presents to man that sustenance which he needs for his moral nature, when temptations beset him ; when evil passions seek to control him ; when debasing appetites cry out for those things that will prove destructive to his whole being. That divine power which enabled Jesus to resist the tempter ; to banish Satan from his presence ; to overcome evil with good, will enable any man to do the same, to the extent he is possessed of the Christ-like spirit. Whatever his condition of trial or need ; whatever the burden which circumstances compel him to bear, he can find sufficient strength for each and every emergency, if he will but seek it from the one living source from which his divine Master constantly drew. It is not the province of the Christian religion to supplement, supersede, or complete the work of other forces in the unfolding of human character and life. It is an original, primary factor in man's upward development. It commences its operation upon him, when living under the proper influences, as soon as his childish mind can grasp a thought, or be made to understand the moral nature of an act. It grows with his growth, and strengthens with his strength, — filling a place which is unoccupied by the other forces which operate upon human nature, — or, if that place be occupied for a season, it is not filled with that which can satisfy the deepest longings of the soul. No matter how late in life the spirit of Christianity may begin its influence upon man's nature, it must always start from the very centre of life, and work upward and outward, modifying and changing the whole being. It cannot be tacked on or added to some other force that has been operating upon the mind and heart : it must go to the very fountain head, and send its cleansing waters coursing through every avenue of moral life.

Science, in all its branches, has its office, and fills its place ; philosophy, in the variety of its phases, meets certain requirements of a growing mind ; education, in whatever direction it may send out its rays of light, fills and illumines the nature of man, helping to make him what he was intended to become by his Creator. But all these forces and influences are lim-

ited in their field of labor ; they touch and can touch only a prescribed number of the faculties which man possesses. They answer a multitude of questions which are presented to the human mind for solution ; they untangle many threads that are strangely knotted together. But, when they have done their best, — after they have reached the utmost limit, have answered all the questions which they are capable of answering, there still remains a vast, unexplored realm of inquiry, which they do not and cannot penetrate.

Into this unseen realm of moral and spiritual life, Christianity takes the soul, and leads it onward and upward. At the point where every other teacher fails, with no key to the solution of life's mystery, Christianity comes forward, and with its revelation of God and immortality on the heavenward side, and its presentation of perfected manhood on the earthly side, it furnishes the answers which the inquiring soul most of all desires to know. After we have exhausted the resources of every other teacher, have listened to the vain and unsatisfactory attempts to solve the mighty problems of life that are daily becoming more serious, we turn our attention to this one great "Teacher sent from God," and say: "To whom shall we go, but to thee, for an answer to these profound and pressing questions? Thou alone, hast the words of eternal life."

In his recent article on the "Christian Religion" in the *North American Review*, Prof. Fisher makes the following just observations:

"Let a thoughtful man contemplate the prospects of mankind on the supposition that the Christian faith is to pass away. Civilization advances. Human science goes forward as far as it can in alleviating bodily pain. Provisions for living comfortably are multiplied in a degree at present incalculable and are diffused abroad. Knowledge increases more and more. Wars come to an end. Governments become equitable and beneficent. Mankind takes on a finer quality. Conceive that such a progress of mankind is possible, apart from the purifying and restraining influence of religion, — an expectation for which neither human nature nor experience af-

fords the slightest warrant — what then? Are men who are thus advanced in the intellectual scale and in the affections of the heart to be satisfied with a merely mundane existence? Can they content themselves to live in this way, with no wider horizon, and then to pass out of being? Will they find a sufficient stimulus to labor for their race in the mere hope of rendering the earth a more comfortable abode for tenants who in swift succession rise into being and sink into the grave, as flowers blossom and then next day fall from their stems? The further civilization advances — were a sure advance practicable without the inspiration and safeguards of religion — the more intolerable human life would become. Man would be less happy than the animals. The brutes have no thoughts or imaginations above the necessities of the hour; but man, with a nature too large to be satisfied with earthly good, is cut off from anything higher. The dignity of life, and its joy not less, are gone when there are no ties connecting this brief existence with a world unseen."

It was for the sublime purpose of revealing to mankind those unseen ties which hold them to divine and immortal realities, that the world's Saviour lived, taught, suffered, died, and rose at length triumphant over death. By his teaching, his life, and his own glorious resurrection, he answers those deep and searching questions which are often pressed home to every earnest, thoughtful soul. "Whence came I?" "What should be the purpose of my life?" "And whither am I tending?" are the three solemn queries that confront intelligent beings at every turn in their earthly journey. Some give up these questions in despair, and declare that they are insoluble enigmas; others find partial relief in the revelations of science; and still more try to content themselves with stoical indifference concerning the whole matter. But only those who turn with full confidence to the words and experience of Jesus Christ, find a satisfactory solution of these perplexing problems. Accepting his words as authority; receiving his revelation as genuine and infallible truth; confiding in him as the human expression of God's glory, and the express image of the divine personality, the humble disciple of Jesus finds a condition of peace and rest which only such a faith can produce.

If the Christian religion does not become that practical force in human life which we here claim it is capable of becoming, certainly the fault is not with the religion. If the sun, which is capable of furnishing light to every creature upon the globe, fails to reach a few that are confined within opaque walls which his rays were never intended to penetrate, then the fault is not with the sun, that those creatures are not blessed by his cheering presence. The barrier which prevents his light from touching them must be removed, or they must come out of the dungeon which hides them from his dazzling face, if they would enjoy the glow and warmth which he is ever ready to bestow upon all who will receive it. Christianity is the sun of the moral world. It shines for all. It is capable of illuminating all moral natures. But it has not yet reached all, nor even one, to the extent of which it is capable. Barriers and obstacles stand in the way of its complete triumph in the mortal life of even a single individual, excepting in him who was its author and founder. These obstacles, however, are only allowed to remain because man does not choose to remove them. They can all be scattered to the four winds of heaven, if he but wills that it shall be so. Christ's truth and spirit are ready to come and take possession of every man; his light of life is waiting to light all souls; and as rapidly as man will permit the advance, this light will come and take up its abode within him.

One of the chief obstacles that still hinders the growth of practical Christianity in the world, is a misconception which prevails concerning its power over the life of man. Two opposite and equally fatal errors have long held sway over men's minds, as to what the Christian religion *can* do, and what it is *expected* to do for man. The first of these errors has produced a class of fanatics, styling themselves "Perfectionists." The substance of their belief is, that the power of Christ's spirit is so great over those who receive it in full measure, that it completely and radically changes their entire moral natures; lifting them forever out of all sin, and placing them beyond all desire to sin; putting them in a state of per-

petual grace, where the lusts of the flesh and the evil influences of the world can have no more dominion over them. A clergyman once told the writer that he had not committed a sin for several years, and furthermore, that he believed that he could not commit another sin, because his sinful nature had been taken away from him. This claim has been made by many, who have egotistically proclaimed themselves as "perfect." Now, all such assumptions as these are a hindrance to the advance of Christian truth, for two reasons: 1. Because this claim of "perfection" through the regenerating power of Christ's spirit finds no justification in *actual experience*. Those who best know these "perfectionists," are aware that they do not prove their doctrine by their lives. Their conduct gives the lie to all such pretensions. 2. Because this is making a claim for the Christian religion, which Christ himself never made for it, and which none of his immediate followers ever made. The injunction "Be ye therefore perfect," did not imply even a supposition that perfection could be attained at short notice, or even that it could be fully realized in a lifetime. Paul, who was the great expounder of the Gospel, and who evidently comprehended its philosophy better than any teacher who followed Christ, never discovered that absolute human perfection in the flesh would follow the reception of the Gospel into men's hearts. His own life, we are informed through his epistles, was a perpetual struggle between the fleshly and the spiritual natures; and so closely did he apply his reason to his own experience, that he said he had discovered a "law of the mind" which prompted him always to *do good*, but that there was "another law in his members" that was in continual warfare with the soul; and we do not learn from his language that he ever thought himself free from that conflict, during life. In his letter to the Philippians he sums up the whole matter, so far as his own experience was concerned, when he says, "Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect; but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus. Brethren, I count not

myself to have apprehended ; but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

As a natural outgrowth of this error concerning Christianity which we have been considering, another mistaken view has become quite prevalent in certain quarters, which may be thus formulated :

Because the Christian religion *does not* produce perfection in its believers, therefore it is *false*, or at least, a *failure*. Because it does not free men completely from the influences of evil ; because it does not take away all desire to sin ; because its believers do not become angels in their nature, while in the flesh, therefore it cannot be relied upon as the true religion.

Let us consider, in as few words as possible, what Christianity proposes to do for man, and how it proposes to do it. So far as the final consummation is concerned, there is no doubt that the working of the Gospel will result in the perfection of humanity. But that must come in the "dispensation of the fulness of time." Here and now it works only in a partial sense toward making men perfect. It succeeds in reaching this result here, only in proportion as human character and life are lifted out of sin ; in the ratio that evil is overcome of good in individual lives. This work of regeneration, however, does not result in removing a single faculty or passion of man's being ; the nature which God gave man in the beginning, is not taken away ; man is not at once lifted out of the presence of evil, neither is he brought suddenly into a state of holiness. But, in the presence of evil it gives him power to overcome it ; confronted by temptation, it furnishes him with sufficient strength to resist it. In the conflict with passions and appetites that threaten to enslave and consume, it gives man the victory, and enables him to trample all moral enemies beneath his feet. Filled with its spirit, he can say with the Apostle, "I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me."

It is a marked peculiarity of the Christian system of salva-

tion, that it does not ignore the difficulties in the way ; it does not overlook the hard, stern facts of life. To its believers and followers, it promises no easily won achievement ; no Eden of perpetual bliss, only as it is earned by toil and struggle. It does not come in the likeness of an angel, who says to us : " But follow me, and I will lead you in a pathway strewn with roses. You will need no protection for your feet, for there are no thorns in that way. You shall never more know any care or sorrow. No enemies to your higher nature will there molest you. I will remove from your way all difficulties, — all obstacles. Evil, with all his agencies of death, shall no more molest you, for I will take you in a way unknown to it."

Christianity promises to do nothing of this kind for us. How, then, does it address us, concerning our life in the flesh ? It comes in the form of a sturdy soldier, clad in the armor of perpetual warfare ; and in trumpet tones it says : " Put on the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. * * * Take unto you the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all to stand. Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace ; above all take the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked, and take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." Christianity furnishes us with this armor for the spiritual warfare, and gives us strength to overcome the evil in the world. It does not destroy the enemies of the moral nature, but it gives us power to conquer them. It lifts no burdens from our backs, but it gives us the strength to throw them off, or gracefully to bear them. The thorn of trouble may not be removed, — it may continue to molest and annoy ; and yet, it becomes easier to bear, and is even turned to a messenger of good, where the Christ spirit rules in the heart.

Christianity does not promise to give man that which he

already possesses ; it adds nothing to his stock of talents ; it confers upon him no new faculty. But it furnishes the motive power by which the talents he already holds are called into active service, and are directed toward the highest and noblest ends. It does not lift him, bodily, into a state of freedom from sinful passions and desires ; but it so stimulates and quickens the soul-powers, that he rises into a clearer light, and sees himself as he really is ; sin and evil are revealed in their true nature, and virtue and goodness are set before him as the things most to be desired.

Christianity does not profess to abolish natural death. To its most devoted disciple it does not promise perpetual life upon the earth, nor an escape into the unknown future through any other door than that which God has ordained for all mortals in the death of the body. The dissolution of all earthly ties comes to saint as truly as to sinner. Death invades the home circle of the pure and noble, the same as that of the vicious and wicked. Like the rain and the sunshine, it falls in equal measure upon the just and the unjust ; upon the evil and the good. As upon the field of battle, the bullets and shells make no discrimination between good or bad, rich or poor, high or humble ; so there is no discrimination between Christian or Pagan ; Jew or Gentile ; Greek or Barbarian ; when death sends forth his missiles, all fare alike ; all are equally subject to his power. Whether one be a Christian, a Jew, a Pagan, or an atheist, it matters not : death shows him no favors. With impartial hand he levels all to common dust.

What advantage, then, has the Christian, in the presence of his own beloved dead, or when he himself stands face to face with death ? What does his faith do for him in this soul-trying season ! *It gives him the victory over death and all its terrors !* It explains to him the philosophy of death, — what it is, and all it is. It reveals to him the great truth that death as well as life, is a part of God's great plan ; that death has no power over the immortal soul ; that when he has done his worst and his best, he cannot touch nor harm man himself. All

that death can claim or hold is that which is earthly and decaying in its very nature. Over the indestructible principle which the body of clay for a time encases, death has, and can have, no power. Christian faith thus makes man the victor over the "last great enemy," and enables him to look upward and forward, — lifting him high above all the shifting and fleeting scenes of earth, and bringing him into the very presence of the Infinite.

Rev. S. P. Smith.

ARTICLE VIII.

Rejoinder to Dr. Miller.

ἵνα κομισθῇται ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος πρὸς ἃ ἐπραξεν, κ. τ. λ. —
2 Cor. v. 10.

THE question at issue between Dr. Miller and myself in the interpretation of the passage in 2 Cor. v. 10 is exegetical pure and simple, and I have been from the beginning unable to see that it included any important doctrinal matter. That men are rewarded and punished in this life, no one denies. Whether or not they are also rewarded and punished in the life to come, is a question with which speculation or revelation may be concerned, and in regard to which an utterance of the apostle Paul may be more or less important from one or another point of view. If, as Dr. Miller maintains, Paul is occupied in the passage under discussion with the former, then certainly it would be most unwarrantable to assert that he therefore denied the latter. If, on the other hand, he was occupied with the latter, then it must be said to his credit that he stood upon the only ground which is philosophically defensible, while it would be absurd to argue that asserting the latter he therefore denied the former. In either case rewards and punishments are inseparably connected in the apostle's thought, as is evident from the words, "according to what he hath done, *whether good or evil.*"

Now if Dr. Miller attaches any doctrinal importance to this text as he interprets it, it is evidently this, that the penalty for sin is limited to this life, and that there is accordingly no future judgment nor punishment. But the thought of Paul cannot fairly be mutilated and divided so as to exclude punishment from the realm in which reward are dispensed. *Wherever* this judgment is, its dread decree carries both pain and bliss. And the great apostle may fairly be presumed to have been acute enough to see that a (temporal) dispensation which does not completely reward righteousness can hardly be assumed completely to punish sin. It is a bad philosophy and a worse ethics which denies to the economy of eternity the solemn fact of judgment.

Dr. Miller's rendering of the clause in question (*ἵνα κομισῶνται ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος*) is, "in order that each one may receive the things, through (in) the body, (according to that he hath done, etc.);" And he remarks, "as will be seen, I had taken τὰ, 'things,' the object of κομισῶνται, 'may receive,' as denoting 'the things' *received* as reward, received also through the body, as source or instrument of the reward and consequently during the life of the body." Accordingly, the apostle means just this: "We must all in this life appear before the judgment seat of Christ in order that each one may receive through his body *the things*, according to what he hath done, etc."! And when was this inexplicable judgment to take place? Or had it already fallen? Or was it then in process of execution? If it was past or present, or past *and* present, why this phraseology? One would rather say of a present and perpetual judgment, not, "we must appear in order that we *may* receive," but rather, "we stand perpetually in the body (*ἐν τῷ σώματι*) before the judgment seat and *are* receiving the reward." But aside from this, what interpreter who respects the memory of his author could cast upon him the burden of such an expression as "may receive through his body as source or instrument of the reward, *the things*"? In the name of all that is concise and intelligible in speech, what is meant by "the things"? What things? The things that

he has done? Dr. Miller has a horror of "done" as savoring of Orthodoxy. The things that he has not done, then? If it be the things that he has done, then it must be the things that he has done "in the body"; if the things that he has not done, then alas for the wretched subject of this unintelligible judgment! Then the darkness and mystery which cover this awful judgment-seat are deepened by the gloss of our interpreter when he speaks of the body as the "source or instrument of the reward." These indefinite and mysterious "things," it seems, are to be "received" in the body, and yet they may proceed from it, or be suffered through its instrumentality! Let us pity the defenseless author to whose words such a gloss as this is applied.

Again, let it be asked, what is meant by "receiving the things"? Dr. Miller insists with the utmost pertinacity that the notion of receiving reward is not contained in the verb. "Out of the ten or eleven passages in which it is used in the New Testament," he says, "there are but three, including this, where there is the least pretense that it includes the notion of reward." Grant this, and these three passages are enough to establish this meaning, especially since they are all from the Apostle Paul, and hence show this to be a Pauline use of the word. Here are the passages: Col. iii. 25: "But he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done" (*κομίζεται ὁ ἡδίκησεν*); Eph. vi. 8: "Whatsoever good thing any man hath done, the same shall he receive from the Lord" (*τοῦτο κομίζεται παρὰ κυρίου*); 2 Cor. v. 10: *ἵνα κομίσηται ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος*, "in order that each one may receive the things done in the body." Take out the idea of reward from its verb in each of these passages, and what intelligible notion do they convey? These are the very passages quoted in Grimm's *Clavis Novi Testamenti*, (*sub voce κομίζω*), where after giving the ordinary significations of the verb, such as "receive" in the usual sense, the learned author says: *κομίζεσθαι id quod fecit* = *facti vel præmium vel pœnam*, 2 Cor. v. 10; Col. iii, 25; Eph. vi. 8, to receive that which he has done — to receive the reward or penalty, etc.

Our critic quotes Athenagoras in this connection to his own discomfiture. This "native Greek philosopher," who is fairly presumed to have understood his own language, paraphrases the text thus: *ἵνα . . . ἕκαστος κομίσθῃ διαιῶς ἃ δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἐπραξεν* "in order that each one may justly receive what he hath done through the body." But what does Athenagoras mean by "justly receive," if not receive just reward and penalty? And this Greek, "who was well qualified to construe our text written in his native tongue," fortunately for his fame knew better than to render it "may receive through his body," but was "orthodox" enough to interpret Paul correctly by even inserting "done," and reading "the things which he hath done through (in) the body." Here is our critic's much reprobated "done" done into Greek by a "native Greek philosopher." It were better not to have quoted Athenagoras.

In regard to the Syriac New Testament's rendering "may receive retribution in the body for what he hath done in it," which Dr. Miller complains that I have not noticed, I have only to say that it is an incorrect translation of the apostles Greek; and that this "Queen of the ancient versions" has here at least not proved herself infallible.

The Vulgate's rendering is based on a gloss, (not a "*various* reading," as Dr. Miller, says), *τὰ ἴδια* for *τὰ διὰ*, and is wholly destitute of authority, as it is also unworthy of notice.

But my interpretation is entirely overthrown, it seems, according to Dr. Miller, by the authority of Winer, that prince of grammatical exegetes. Here again it is a question of interpretation, and the interpretation of Winer. In commenting on Col. iii. 25, which I have maintained to be perfectly parallel with our text, Winer says in reference to the phrase, "he shall receive the wrong which he hath done": "It denotes (*according to the signification of κομίσσθαι*) very nearly: he will reap the wrong; not that he will suffer the same wrong which he has committed, but its fruits, *the reward of it, the wrong in the form of penalty.*" The passage, says Winer, is, "in accordance with the genius of the Greek language to

be regarded as brachylogical," that is there is no break or ellipsis which is covered by the structure, but "*according to the signification of κομίζεσθαι*" it means he will "suffer the reward" of the wrong "in the form of penalty." I could ask for no better statement of the interpretation which I have defended throughout. And what but the utmost depth of obscurity is the remark of our critic, that according to Winer the verb "receive" does not include the sense of reward, but it is expressed by the verb's object, so that τὰ, 'things,' are things *received*, not *done*? How can "the things" convey the notion that they are received without the verb? And what in the name of all that is lucid are the "things received," if they are not the very things that were "done." And what is it to "receive" them if it is not to receive a reward for them?

In my interpretation of the phrase διὰ τοῦ σώματος, as "during the bodily life" or what is equivalent, "in the body," I am pronounced wrong, because διὰ it seems does not possess a "temporal force." Not to mention the lexicons which my critic would have done well to consult, it is enough to quote Winer on this point, who says: Applied to time, διὰ denotes *during*, (i. e., within a space of time) Heb. ii. 15, διὰ πάσης τοῦ ζῆν — "all their lifetime." But this is not a matter which is essential in the discussion, and I have no serious objection to Meyer's rendering, "the things which are *through* the body," though "in the body," or "during the life of the body," has the weight of authority in its favor. Indeed, Meyer is the only commentator whom I remember as holding that opinion. There is no doubt that διὰ is *usually* instrumental with the genitive.

But what surprises me most of all is the fact that towards the end of his article Dr. Miller yields the entire point at issue in admitting that τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος is, as I have claimed in the whole discussion, an inseparable prepositional adverbial clause of time with an ellipsis of a participle! The whole discussion turns on the question, does διὰ τοῦ σώματος qualify κομίζονται, or the participle which is supplied? In other words, shall we translate "receive the things through, or in, the

body" or, "receive the things which are through, or done in, the body." The moment it is admitted that $\tau\alpha\delta\tau\sigma$ is a prepositional phrase with a participle, "being," or "done," it matters not which, the whole question is simply one for a school-boy in Greek grammar; and there can be but one answer, namely, that $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\sigma$ cannot be taken out of this inseparable phrase to qualify a remote verb, but must qualify the participle which is to be supplied. The supplying of $\sigma\tau\alpha$, being, which Dr. Miller favors gives a phrase which can only be resolved by a relative clause, thus, "That each one may receive the things which exist, or arise, through the body." This would be the literal English of the Greek, as Dr. Miller would have it. Now what shall be thought of the exegesis which will make this out of that sentence: "That each one may receive through (in) the body the things."

Another expression of Dr. Miller's, however, is more perplexing still. He says, "taking there the whole phrase, (the things which are through the body) as the object of the verb receive, it denotes not only the reward received, but the source *or* instrument of it, namely, the *living* body." But what can be meant by "the things which are through the body, as source *or* instrument of reward and punishment?" Mere physical pleasures and pains! Paul thus teaches that the judgment-seat of Christ is set up to dispense the torments and delights of the body! In this judgment each one receives "the things through his body" according as he has done good or evil! And these "things through the body" are the awards of the *spiritual* kingdom of Christ! And in this degradation of the Pauline eschatology the body is made the "source or instrument" (which?) of the reward and punishment of moral acts, so that a deed of charity is rewarded, perhaps, by a good digestion, and a slander punished by a rheumatic pain! "I suggest that an exegesis "which leads to such conclusions, "should be abandoned at once."

I see no reason, then, from all that Dr. Miller has been able to urge, for abandoning the old interpretation which has the support of almost all the great exegetes of ancient and mod-

ern times. I still hold in spite of the solitary authority of Meyer that *διὰ* has here its temporal meaning, and that "during the bodily life," or "in the body," is the only correct rendering of *διὰ τ. σ.* The verb *κομίσσεται* carries the sense of "receive reward for," for which a genuine Pauline usage is established by the parallel passages. The fact that this is not a classical usage has no weight against my position. Numerous examples of peculiar and original New Testament meanings of many words might be adduced. I still hold, also, that *πεπραγμένα*, "done" is the proper participle to be supplied in the prepositional phrase *διὰ τ. σ.* The participle to be supplied in all such phrases is the one which the context requires. Usually it is the appropriate form of *ᾶν*, "being"; but in the case before us the thought is directed to the acts of moral agents, and the following clause, *πρὸς ᾧ ἔπραξεν*, "according to what he hath done" irresistibly suggests, nay even, one may say, requires, "done" in the antecedent clause. The translation which this text receives at the hands of the authors of the revised version is perhaps as nearly correct as the best scholarship can make it: "For we must all be made manifest before the judgment-seat of Christ; that each one may receive the things done in the body, according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad."

With any but purely exegetical results I am not concerned in this discussion. Whether the conclusion which I have reached is in accordance with the prevailing "Orthodox" exegesis or not is a matter of no moment to me, for I am interested only in ascertaining what is the meaning of the apostle in the text. The genuine seeker after truth knows neither orthodoxy nor heterodoxy, being satisfied and abundantly rewarded if only he has found the truth. To such an one it is unspeakably painful to see any of his great and honored brotherhood charged with perverting the truth for the sake of a dogma. When, therefore, one accuses such men as Meyer, De Wette, and Noyes, to whom scholarship was a sacred calling, of falsely interpreting the Greek text of the New Testament because they "firmly believed that the Bible teaches

the Orthodox eschatology," I have no answer but silent indignation. The true scholar (and the Christian church has not produced truer scholars than these) is controlled by a high moral purpose, and his work is wrought in the love of man and the fear of God, since he believes that he must render an account both to man and to God, and does not forget that "we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that each one may receive the things done in the body; according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad."

Pres. O. Cone.

GENERAL REVIEW.

Nature and Providence.

The Foundations of Religious Belief: The Methods of Natural Theology vindicated against Modern Objections. By W. D. Wilson, D.D., Presbyter in the Diocese of Central New York and Professor in Cornell University. D. Appleton & Co.

Natural Theology deals with the proofs which Nature furnishes of the existence of God, His character and action as Creator and Ruler of the universe. Paley undertook to prove from the phenomena of the material world the existence of a God of infinite power, wisdom and goodness; while Butler in his famous *Analogy*, attempted to demonstrate that Christianity is in harmony with human reason and the constitution and course of Nature. Dr. Wilson in the work named above endeavors to show that the truths of Natural Theology, and the legitimacy of its Methods furnish the only foundation on which we can rest for a satisfactory presentation of the evidences of Christianity.

His first chapter, which has a historical as well as logical value, is occupied with describing the two methods, subjective and objective, and attempting to show up and dispel the illusions created by the speculations and assumptions of metaphysicians and physicists. And he has some very clean and clear reasoning here, and very happily calls in Spencer to meet the assertions of Hamilton and Mansel. And, as he says, it is "a piece of grim irony," a strange spectacle, this of "Spencer, the confessed agnostic, trying to convince these pro-

fessing Christians, on purely philosophical grounds, that God is not an abstraction or a mere negation, but is rather a most positive Reality, a reality without which nothing else can be real, and declaring that all their arguments are absurd. and 'elaborately suicidal.'"

In the following chapters Dr. Wilson takes up the Physical objections to the existence and government of God, discussing with equal force and perspicuity the theories of evolution and causation—the Metaphysical objections including the various theories of knowledge proofs of the reality of mind as an entity distinct from matter, and the limits to the certainty of Knowledge—the Logical objections grounded on the forms of reasoning and the use of words, with a review of Kant's Theories—the Attributes and Personality of God, in which he insists that all the arguments and all the methods of argumentation by which we claim to prove the existence of God, prove also His Personality—Miracles and Inspiration, noting specially the miracles of Creation or Beginning, the Origin of Species, and the Origin of Man; and, in the matter of Inspiration, touching the difficulty of discriminating as to character, and making time and results the test of its reality—and lastly, Providence and Moral Government, a chapter of special interest for its independent thought, breadth of view, and the Christian character of its philosophy, as contrasted with the encouragement given to scepticism by some late attempts to compel nature and history into the service of the orthodox exegesis of Scripture.

It is the teaching of this last chapter which has chiefly attracted our attention, and which, coming from such a quarter, is entitled to more than an ordinary book notice. At the same time any one of the chapters would furnish ample material for a separate article, but we cannot afford the space. Only two or three points can be touched, and that briefly, before coming to the last.

1. Origin of Species. No origination of a new species is *known* to have occurred in the human period, nor in any past period of the world's history. Evolution, therefore, can be held only as an hypothesis, a conjecture awaiting proof, while facts and considerations of the most stubborn and unyielding character stand against it. The advocate of Evolution refers to the order of development from the Zoological point of view, and arranges the several species in that order, beginning with the lowest and running up to the highest; and even if there are breaks and "missing links," he insists that, give time enough, they will yet be discovered. But the difficulty with this

is that the geological or chronological order does not correspond to the zoological series. Dawson says, on page 260 of his "Chain of Life in Geological Times," that "Groups of species as genera and orders do not usually begin with their highest or lowest forms, but with intermediate and generalized types, and show a capacity for both elevation and degradation in their subsequent history." The following facts bear on this point:

"Let the Zoologist range his group in the order of the numbers from one up to as many thousands as he may happen to have, and it is seen at once from the Geologist's order of succession that these species did not make their appearance in the same order as the Zoologist's classification demands. Instead of their making their appearance in what is the Zoologist's order, 1, 2, 3, etc., they come in a very different order. It may be that he has made, and must make in fidelity to his science, a succession in which what the Zoologist calls the first did not appear on earth until after what the Geologist has called the fifth, and the sixth of the Zoologist's order was not the next to make its appearance in the order of time, but was perhaps the fifteenth or twentieth rather. Hence we have to account for the changes, not from the first in the Zoological Series to the next one above it, but to one that is many degrees removed from it. 'In the vegetable world mosses are inferior to the lycopodiæ and ferns, but they come in later. Ganoids are among the earliest of the fishes, and yet they are of the highest orders. Trilobites are crustaceans of a high order, and yet they are among the very earliest. Monkeys, although much higher in the Geological scale, appear before the ox family.'"

"The *Machairodus* is an obstacle to any theory of mere evolution. It appeared in several species in widely separated districts, as Nebraska, (N. A.), Brazil, (S. A.), in France, in Greece, and as far east as India. It was of the cat family *Felidæ*, as large as any known lions or tigers, more "specialized" and perfect in form than most of the later species. It appeared early in the Tertiary at or near the close of the Eocene period, and with nothing before it in that great family from which it could have been derived by any process of mere evolution or development."

Dawson says Palæontology furnishes no direct evidence, perhaps it never can furnish any, as to the actual transformation of one species into another. And even Huxley, who, in his address in this country in 1876, trusting to Prof. Marsh's series of the *Equidæ*, boldly declared that the doctrine of evolution was as well established as the Copernican theory of the solar system, said two years later in his address in Dublin: "It is a difficult question, and one for which a complete answer may be looked for in the next century. In what

sense I cannot tell you. I have my own notion about it, but the question for the future is the attainment, by scientific processes and methods, of a solution of that question."

2. The time of Man's appearance on the earth, and his condition at that time.

On this point Dr. Wilson has cited learned authorities to show that the origin of man cannot date back of the Post Glacial times. Huxley says, in his Dublin address, 1878, "When it comes to a question as to tracing back man further (than the drift)—and recollect drift is only the scum of the earth's surface—I must confess that to my mind the evidence is of a very dubious character." Dr. Southall, Dawson and others calculate from present evidence that the time which has elapsed since the close of the Ice age, the period at which man first appears, is not more than eight or ten thousand years. The proofs are constantly accumulating that the close of the Glacial era comes down to a much later date than was assigned it a few years ago.

And then, as regards the man of that period, Dawson says the evidence available at present shows the man of the Post Glacial age of Geology "with all the powers and properties" of the man of to-day. Nicholson's statement is that such information as we have would lead to the conclusion that Post-Pliocene man was *in no respect* inferior in his organization to, or less highly developed than, many existing races. All the known skulls of that period, with the single exception of the Neanderthal cranium, are *in all respects* average and normal in their character. Dr. Wilson says, in parenthesis, that the Neanderthal skull "is now acknowledged to have been abnormal and idiotic." And even Huxley "don't know that there is any reason for doubting that the men who existed at that day were *in all essential respects* similar to the men who exist now."

Dawson states that "the skeletons of the most ancient known men indicate a people of great stature, of powerful muscular development, especially in the lower limbs; of large brain, indicating great capacity and resources."—*Chain of Life*, p. 241.

We may add here that the Siberian elephants, which have been encased in ice for eight or ten thousand years, are as well formed, as perfect in every respect, as their kindred of to-day. Evolution has done as little for them as for man since the close of the Ice age. Man and the elephant at least seem to have started out at the beginning as complete, physically and anatomically, as those of the present age.

As regards the doctrine of Evolution we have no theory to defend. We neither accept nor reject it altogether. We do not interpret its teaching as excluding God from the universe. It may show us His method of working in some things, but it does not furnish a sufficient cause for the beginning of things. As Mr. Wilson says, "the word evolution is only a term to denote a process, and the process itself is no adequate explanation of anything."

3. We come now to the argument on "Providence and Moral Government," which is in such marked contrast, both in spirit and in aim, to Prof. Townsend's chapter on "Divine Goodness and Severity." Dr. Wilson does not invite the aid of Pessimists and Atheists in support of his orthodoxy; nor does he recklessly fling stumbling blocks in the path of the troubled believer who is struggling with doubts and difficulties, and trying to keep his faith in the infinite wisdom and goodness of the God of Nature and of the Bible.

Townsend's "Bible Theology and Modern Thought" attempts to prove that Nature and History reveal the same kind of a God which Orthodoxy teaches; and by numerous citations from scientists and sceptics seeks to show that He is just as cruel and relentless and destructive in the material world, in history, and the ordering of human life, as in the endless torments inflicted on the damned. Let the reader turn to the article on this subject in the last July *QUARTERLY*. Dr. Wilson's book covers substantially the same ground of argument, so far as concerns the divine character and government; but he insists that the facts show that what seems evil is not wholly evil, that suffering and pain are not ordained for their own sake, but with a view to the good which may come out of them, the beneficent uses which they may serve. And he cites the sceptic as being compelled to this admission in his better moments. Even John Stuart Mill, who has said so many bitter things concerning Nature which "never turns one step from her path to avoid trampling us into destruction," as quoted by Townsend, declares in his happier moods, according to Wilson, that "as manifest in nature and human experience, goodness or benevolence is on the whole predominant over other motives of a different kind. The pleasures and the pains have a conservative tendency, the pleasures being so disposed as to attach to the things which maintain existence, the pains so as to deter from such as would destroy it." He quotes him further, on page 347;

"Yet endeavoring to look at the question without partiality or prejudice and without allowing wishes to have any influence over

judgment, *it does appear* that granting the existence of design, there is a preponderance of evidence that the Creator desired the pleasure of His creatures. . . . Even in cases where the pain results, like pleasure, from the machinery itself, the appearances do not indicate that contrivance was brought into play purposely to produce pain ; . . . there is, therefore, much appearance that pleasure is agreeable to the Creator, while there is very little if any appearance that pain is so, and there is a certain amount of justification for inferring, on the ground of Natural Theology alone, that benevolence is one of the attributes of the Creator."

This is a good deal for Mill to say, who is the leading representative of pessimism among the English, and probably presents all the objections to a Divine Providence and moral government that the case admits of. Pain is no proof that God is cruel, and the arrangements of the material world, the penalties of violated law do not militate against His benevolence. "They, therefore, who would exclude pain from the universe," says Dr. Wilson, "would exclude wrong doing and with it the possibility of the highest excellence and crowning glory of the universe." And again, "Not only pain, but even wicked men, have a work to do in a world where wickedness and wrong exist, which no other class can so fitly do. Although not intending it and not conscious of the fact, they are doing God's will and are in some cases the fittest instruments for doing it under the circumstances." "Why sin is in the world I do not know, and shall make no attempt to explain. I shall not even offer a conjecture. But it is here ; and we can see much good that is accomplished by it, which, so far as we can see, could no more have been accomplished without sin and suffering than man could have been made to study into, learn, respect and use those laws of nature which make up our science and make us masters of the world, subjecting all things in it to our use, without the pain that follows upon violation."

Our author enlarges upon this theme, and emphasizes the fact that the providence and moral government of God are continually shaping evil and suffering into some form of good. He says again, "The way in which, both in history and in individual life, God brings good out of evil and makes even 'the wrath of man to praise Him,' is to me one of the most striking proofs of Providence working for a purpose in history and in the exercise of moral government."

How different this treatment of the subject from that which joins hands with the Atheist and Pessimist in defending a creed at the expense of Religion itself. Truly, as our Episcopalian friend says,

"The Christian view of life, when once thoroughly adopted, changes the whole aspect of the case. *It cures all pessimism*, and takes away all disposition to complain." "The very things that these pessimists complain of come to be the very opportunity and means that are given us to become spiritually great and strong. To the question, Why do the righteous suffer? he replies:

"It is a doctrine now well understood that there is no coming to a right mind, no growth in grace, no attainment in the higher qualities of intelligence and moral excellence, without a good deal of pain and suffering. This is a doctrine which, though Christ may have first taught to the world, has now become confirmed by the experience and philosophy of the last eighteen centuries."

"It is much more probable, therefore, in view of what we know, that God overrules and guides all things, leaving us to suffer only when, or as, it is for our own good that we should do so. For man will not learn without suffering. It is only the "burnt" child that dreads the fire. And I think we are fast approaching the conviction that throughout the whole realm of nature, man suffers in this way no more than is good for, perhaps no more than is indispensable to, his progress in knowledge and virtue."

This, it seems to us, is the Christian view of the subject; and Nature, History and Life, interpreted on the large scale, confirm its truth. The beautiful harmonies and beneficent adjustments of the material universe to man's physical, mental and spiritual faculties and needs; the steady progress of mankind toward a higher and better civilization, the growth of all those noble charities and humanities which beautify and bless the world, and the great lessons of history in the past and in the present, disclose to us the fact of creative Goodness, and of a Providential rule and guidance which is forever, visibly or invisibly, shaping and controlling all the forces of nature, all the events of history, all the experiences of our life, whether we name them good or evil, to wise and gracious ends—

"From evil still educing good,
And better thence again, and better still,
In infinite progression."

In the material realm the earthquake, the tempest, the volcano, and the pestilence are limited to small areas, and their force is exhausted in a few moments, or a few months at the longest; but the sunshine and the rain and the atmosphere are perpetual, and reach to the ends of the earth. And then these physical convulsions, too, may have beneficent uses unknown to us, which, when made apparent, will justify the words of Pope that,

"All discord (is) harmony not understood,
All partial evil universal good."

Doubtless there are many problems of evil and suffering which no human reason can solve for the present ; but doubtless also the great Hereafter will let fall upon them a light that will discover to us the germ of good that was in them, and show us the beneficent purpose of God in all our sufferings. "Six weeks of painful and dangerous sickness," said a useful and beloved pastor, "did more for me than six months in a theological seminary could have done." The strange and seemingly useless suffering was probably a mystery to him, but he lived long enough to see it cleared up, and the evil turned into good.

So the Pilgrim Fathers counted it a sore trial that they were persecuted, and driven from home and country, and obliged to seek a refuge in the midst of winter on these bleak shores — why should God subject His faithful and obedient children to all these hardships ? And so the men of the Revolution regarded the oppressions of the English government as evil, and only evil ; and thought it a strange providence that they should be forced to maintain their rights at such cost of blood and treasure. But who now questions the wisdom or justice or goodness of God, as he looks over this vast empire of religious and political freedom stretching from ocean to ocean, with all its magnificent resources and possibilities ? And so, when the war of the rebellion came on, and defeat after defeat followed, and thousands of noble and useful lives were sacrificed, and untold horrors of suffering and cruelty were enacted, how many wondered and questioned why God should thus show Himself on the side of injustice and oppression. But we, too, have lived long enough to see how good came out of this evil which forced upon us the long-delayed Proclamation of Emancipation. And now that we see four millions of slaves made freemen, and take in all the possibilities of their future ; as we witness already the growth of Southern industries, education and prosperity ; who is there that would criticise the providence of God ? And who, because of the sufferings of the war, would join those who accuse Him of inflicting as great "severities" and sufferings on nations and individuals here on the earth as, according to orthodoxy, He will inflict on the damned in hell ? the only difference being that the last are endless ; while the principle, or moral element, is the same in both.

Ah, what an ungracious task for a Christian theologian to take up — this attempt to prove that God in His works and in His government of the world, in history and human life, is showing Himself fully capable of inflicting endless damnation on His disobedient chil-

dren ! that the volcano, and earthquake, and tornado, and pestilence and famine, are indications of his character temper ; and passing heralds of coming horrors and sufferings not transient like these, but eternal in the largest meaning of the word, lasting as long as the life of God, or as long as His strength holds out for their infliction ?

But we bring this paper to a close, and in doing so, we must be allowed to quote a passage from Dr. Whedon's notice of Prof. Townsend's book in the October *Methodist Quarterly*, for the purpose of showing our readers that we are not alone in our judgment that the chapter on the Divine Goodness and Severity is more helpful to the Atheist and Pessimist than to the Theist and Christian :

"The chapter on the 'Goodness and Severity of God' essays to maintain the doctrine of hell from the terrible analogies of nature, namely. the volcanoes, the diseases, the parasites and the armed monsters of the animal world. It thence becomes, to our view, an over-drawn condensation of pessimism, not properly counterbalanced by anything in the chapter or in the book. At the same time its analogy does not meet the Universalist's objection to eternal misery : for the latter can reply that all the evils of nature are *temporary* for the individual sufferer, and probably for the totality of sufferers. He can argue that life is so good that all love it and desire to enjoy and prolong it, even the pessimists themselves ; and that death is a brief and probably painless process for each. In fact, the analogy only makes for the doctrine of annihilationism. Dr. Townsend quotes Ingersoll's terrible descriptions of the evils of the world in confirmation of his view. But Ingersoll would claim that Dr. Townsend was only playing into the hands of his own atheism.

'When Bishop Butler, in his 'Analogy,' defended the claims of the Bible on the ground that all the objections raised against the God of the Bible lay equally against the God of nature, he argued against deistical opponents who gloried in holding the God of nature to be a true and holy God. Against them the age concluded that his argument was conclusive. Says Huxley, 'He left them not a leg to stand upon.' Skeptics then said, If that is the case, that the God of nature is so bad, then the matter is worse, and we reject the God of nature, too, and turn atheist or agnostic. Such would be Ingersoll's reply to Dr. Townsend. He would say, 'I have argued, from the absurdities and cruelties of nature, that there is no God ; if you add a world of eternal misery to it, you redouble a thousand times the force of my argument.' There does not appear anything in this volume to neutralize that reply. At the same time, for our single self, leaving all others to their own freedom of thought, we never read Edwards' sermon on 'An Angry God,' which Dr. Townsend largely and approvingly quotes, nor the younger Edwards' book on 'Eternal Damnation,' without a mental reaction against it. And our serious

objection to Dr. Townsend's treatment of this subject is that he leaves it with a most unqualified impression of pessimism on the mind that an indignant atheism is master of the field."

Catholicism — Its Relations to Education and Morals.

At the time the Catholic Cathedral in New York was dedicated, one of the city papers improved the occasion to speak of the rapid growth of the Catholic Church in the United States. After saying that it is no longer the Church of the ignorant and unlearned, of the low and degraded, classes; no longer dependent for its increase on the Irish, German, and foreign elements, it ventures on the following statements, for the accuracy of which we are not responsible, but which certainly seem entitled to serious attention from all Protestants and Americans:

"A single Jesuit priest, who is not yet a very old man, is known to have received more than eight thousand American Protestants into the Roman church, ten of whom were ministers of various sects. The order of Paulist Fathers, founded in 1858 by the Rev. Father Hecker, himself a convert from Protestantism, numbers thirty-four members, nearly all of whom are American gentlemen, who were born and educated Protestants. Many of the Jesuits — who have in the United States seven hundred and fifty members — are Americans; the same is true of the Benedictines and the Christian Brothers, who together count one thousand members. The late Archbishop of Baltimore in five years confirmed two thousand seven hundred and fifty-two converts of American birth. The average annual number of adult converts in the city of New York is said to be about nine hundred. The Archbishops of Philadelphia and Milwaukee report that from five to seven per cent. of those they confirm are converts. The Bishop of Richmond says that thirty-five per cent. of the Catholics in North Carolina are converts, and that one parish in that State is composed wholly of converts."

Among the more prominent of these converts the following are mentioned, men of large intellect and scholarly attainments, whose subsequent activity and influence are supposed to have contributed to the conversion of others: Dr. Brownson, Dr. Ives, Archbishop Wood, of Philadelphia; Dr. Bayley, the late Archbishop of Baltimore; Father Hecker, Father Hewit, Dr. James Kent Stone, formerly President of Hobart College; Father Walworth, Vicar-General Preston, Father McLeod, Dr. J. V. Huntingdon, and many other "learned and distinguished Americans." In passing we may add that this church has now in this country twenty-one theological seminaries,

with more than eleven hundred students ; seventy-four colleges, and five hundred and twenty academies. This with a population of six millions, and some place it much higher, all owing a primary allegiance to a foreign hierarchy, gives weight to the Future of the Catholic question, whether considered in its religious or political aspects.

But these statements are not to be received without allowance for large discounts from the other side, as lately shown in these pages by the admissions of a correspondent of the *Catholic Review*. This writer, evidently a priest, locates himself in a town of 150 families entirely Catholic, and 450 "mixed families," as he terms them ; that is, families coming of "mixed marriages" of Catholics and Protestants. Of these latter he says "400 have fallen away entirely and completely from the Church ; of the 50 outwardly professing the faith, only 20 earnestly strive to raise their children Catholics. Thus 450 families are gone ; count three children in each, and, including the parents, you have the round number of 1720 souls lost to the Church in less than twenty years." And then he adds, with strong emphasis, "All my successors within a hundred years will not bring as many converts into the Church as 430 careless parents within so short a time have sent out of the all-saving 'Bark of Peter.' Many of the parents in the mixed families referred to were themselves the results of mixed marriages, proving the every-day experience that the second generations of such union will always be an entire loss to the Church."

Now these statements by a Catholic of the losses of his Church to the Protestants, compared with those above by a Protestant of her gains from the Protestants, go far towards neutralizing each other. But both are probably exaggerated. The fact remains, however, that while the Papal church makes great gains from foreign immigration and not a few converts from the Protestant sects ; she is every year losing her hold on large numbers of her people by constant daily contact with American politics and institutions, American schools, newspapers, libraries, religious opinions, and the people generally.¹ It is therefore legitimate and logical that the Catholic priesthood, just in proportion to its loyalty to the Church, should be opposed to our public schools. And accordingly, as reported in the *International Review* for March, 1880, we find Cardinal Antonelli saying to Dexter A.

¹ While writing this a despatch from Rome to the newspapers announces that the assembly of Cardinals is discussing the best methods of propagating the Catholic faith and strengthening the power of the Church in the United States.

Hawkins of the New York Bar, "that he thought it better that the children should grow up in ignorance than be educated in such a system of schools as the State of Massachusetts supports. That the essential part of education was the catechism; and while arithmetic and geography and other similar studies might be useful, they were not essential." And according to the same authority, Cardinal Cullen, in his evidence before the educational committee, given in their report of 1870, frankly stated his opinion that education should be limited to "the three R's, the reading of the Scriptures and the history of the Church. Too much education would make the poor discontented with their lot, and unsuit them from following the plough, using the spade, hammering iron, and building walls."

It is well known to our readers that the church authorities, alive to the danger, have already established parochial schools, and as fast as possible are withdrawing their children from our public schools. What kind of instruction will be given is indicated in the above citations, and what will be the probable results from such education may be seen by reference to Italy, Belgium, Mexico, and other countries where the rule of the Papal church has been supreme. But we need not go abroad to ascertain the results. Investigations and comparisons in our own land have already revealed the moral, educational, and political difference in results between Protestant enlightenment and Catholic ignorance, between our public schools and the parish schools of the Church; as the following will demonstrate with sufficient emphasis.

Mr. Hawkins has shown from the United States census of 1870 the comparative number of illiterates, paupers and criminals to every 10,000 inhabitants, produced respectively by the Roman Catholic parochial schools, the public schools in twenty-one States, and by public schools in Massachusetts. When thus arranged for comparison, it is easy to prophesy the effect on the civil, social and moral condition of our country should the priests succeed in withdrawing the three millions or more of Catholic children from our public schools.

TO EVERY TEN THOUSAND INHABITANTS.

	Illiterates.	Paupers.	Criminals.
Roman Catholic Schools,	1,400	410	160
Public schools, 21 States,	350	170	75
Public schools of Massachusetts	71	49	11

He also showed that in the State of New York the Roman Catholic parochial school system turned out three and a half times as many paupers as the public school system.

These *facts* afford strong support to the charges often made that Roman Catholic schools certainly do not lessen, if they do not increase, ignorance, pauperism and crime; that they become dangerous to the stability of the State and society by increasing the numbers of the dangerous classes; that they burden the property of the people, and add to the expenses of government, by the necessity of increasing taxation to maintain our criminal courts and penal institutions.

If now in charity we assume that all this is incidental and accidental, and not a legitimate and natural fruit of the system, not the direct result of the doctrines or morals taught, we are met with positive facts to the contrary, so far at least as the Jesuit influence and control are involved. From the time of Pascal to the present there have been witnesses who have accused the Jesuit body with teaching things contrary to good morals, and proved the charge by citing their own books. Lately a deputy in the Prussian Diet affirmed in print that a text-book by the French Jesuit Gury, was in use in seminaries for training priests for their work, which "justified the crimes of perjury, robbery, adultery, and the falsification of documents"; and he demanded in the name of religion and morals that it should be denounced by the authorities and expelled from the schools. A Catholic journal was foolish enough to call for the proof of this charge book, page and paragraph. The challenge was promptly accepted, and the original Latin and a German translation were given side by side in his pamphlet bearing the title, "Where in the Manual of Moral Theology by the Jesuit Gury, are robbery, falsification of documents, adultery, and perjury, declared to be allowable." And there the discussion seems to have ended.

Substantially the same thing occurred in France, in which M. Bert, "Minister of Public Instruction," in the Gambetta ministry, was the accuser. He had been constant in his endeavors to expel the Jesuits from the public schools of France, which of course brought upon him the wrath and curses of the entire Order, and he was denounced as the enemy of God, of the Church and the State, a blasphemer, liar, apostate, etc. Then came his reply; and he did not resort to second-hand evidence, nor take up with facts two centuries old, but showed what the Jesuits are teaching to-day, in 1875-80. A late number of *Harper's Monthly* gives the result in brief, from which it seems he selected the same works chosen by the Prussian Deputy, viz.; the *Compendium Theologiæ Moralis*, and the *Casus Conscientiæ* of John Peter Gury, S. J., the last edition of which appeared in 1875; and,

it is to be noted, *with the highest official approbation*, according to our authority. M. Bert's work has the title of "*La Morale des Jesuites*." After a careful analysis of his authorities, he charges, as reported, that,

"For three hundred years the Society has been corrupting the youth of all nations, that it teaches as morals a set of doctrines which strike at the foundations of society, and that it countenances debauchery, theft, incest, robbery, and murder, that it has everywhere undermined the authority of the civil power and promoted communistic morality. For the first thing, he finds the science so treated as to confuse the minds of scholars and destroy the solidity of moral distinctions.

These principles are applied, in a long list of "cases" quoted from the Jesuit works named above, in which Father Gury advances "views of lying which Ananias and Sapphira would have thought liberal." Formulas are given by which persons who have an interest in concealing the truth may do so without prejudice to their Catholic standing. Recipes are furnished by which a man may preserve his secret even under the interrogation of a court of justice and swear that he has told all.

"M. Bert takes up these instructions as to theft and shows that the right to steal is affirmed in the case of necessity, which may be extreme, as where there is danger of death, grave where the need is serious and common, as in the case of mendicants; but in all these cases the right to steal is affirmed. It may be practiced, also, where the thief makes secret compensation. So, with regard to petty theft and the plague of thieving domestics, the Jesuit casuistry contained in these works countenances them, or, at least, so confuses the conscience of plain people about them as to create a certainty that, with such a training, they would be practiced."

Is it a matter of wonder, with the Jesuits controlling the public schools, and teaching this sort of morality, that we should have had the Communistic outbreak in Paris? It was the legitimate fruit of such teaching; they that sow to the wind must reap the whirlwind.

But let us come to another proof of the morals resultant from such teaching. We should hardly dare to give the following if we had found it in a newspaper, but coming as it does from an editorial which appeared in the *Methodist Quarterly* some time ago, we feel confident that it may be received as substantially true. Dr. Whedon is usually a safe guide in his reports of foreign ecclesiastical matters. Our readers have already learned something of the determined fight which has been going on for a long time in Belgium between the Government and the priests regarding the public schools, and the infamous methods resorted to by the latter to drive Catholic children out of the parish schools. It is probable that the facts concerning one of the

Convent Schools given in the following paragraphs were brought to light by government investigations consequent upon the bitter quarrel ;

"Some astonishing disclosures have been made in Oudenarde, regarding the utter depravity of both teachers and pupils in the school of a convent bearing the dubious title of "Good Works," (*Bonnes Œuvres*.) For some time the attention of the correctional police has been called to the rumors regarding those having the establishment in charge, which has been a rival of the secular schools of the government. An investigation proved the guilt of about thirty teachers of complicity in indecent outrages on the girls, and of violence and cruelty in their general treatment. The revelations made on the witness-stand were simply frightful; not isolated acts, but a studied and systematic practice of the basest crimes committed in a large educational establishment, and one of the first schools of Belgium; teachers and pupils seemed alike to indulge in the most obscene orgies — depravity reduced to a veritable system. This Convent of "Good Works" (*sic*!) is the mother-house of the order, and here the young novices go through their training; and the "*Flandre Libérale*" is our authority for saying that this "congregation" has extended its propaganda not only throughout Belgium, where it has eleven houses, but also in Holland, where it has six, and even in America.

"These disclosures have set the authorities at work against other "congregations" of like stamp which they have discovered. Public indignation is intense throughout Belgium, and in Ghent the Bishop was compelled to close the boarding establishments, and only take day scholars, who would be there simply in study hours. The diocesan authority must have known of much of this abuse, for a clerical journal confesses that the difficulty is not of yesterday, and that a more prompt solution of it would have prevented much trouble. The Bishop helped as many as possible of the brothers to escape, and most of them have crossed the frontier into Holland, where they find shelter in the affiliated establishments. In Belgium, as in France, the members of the religious orders nearly always succeed in avoiding punishment by retreating for awhile, and then returning under another Church name; and these are so much alike and so general that it is quite difficult to distinguish them, and detect their bearers as former criminals. This utter depravity of the convent system of popular schools, proved before a court of justice, must do much toward breaking up these pesthouses in the rural districts of Belgium, where they sow vice as weeds. And in view of these disclosures it is astounding that their supporters can have the brazen impudence still to oppose and embarrass the communal schools in all possible ways, under the plea that they are "Godless schools," in which the children learn nothing but vice and immorality."

We make no comment on the above; no comment of any sort could emphasize the simple statement of such *facts*. And yet there are

Protestants, there are Universalists, who do not hesitate to send their daughters to Catholic Convent schools — witness Horace Greeley for an example, both whose daughters came from the Convent school Catholics, and remain so to-day. And this is by no means a solitary case.

Of course we have not the remotest intention of intimating that all convent or parish Catholic schools are kindred in spirit or practice to the Belgium establishment, but the very fact that young priests are prepared for their ministry by the study of such text-books as Gury's, that they are daily nourished for their work on such moral carrion, ought to be sufficient warning to every Protestant parent of the danger of educating their daughters in any school where it is possible for the pestiferous influence of the Jesuits to reach.¹

In the light of the above facts the whole subject of the growth, political power, and moral influence of Roman Catholicism in our country becomes a seriously important one. The history of New York city for the past few years, and its present condition, show what is possible; and its valuable gifts of land and money to Catholic institutions are in evidence that Irish votes and political supremacy are to be had only at a price. And Boston, which has been called an Irish city, though it may not claim to be the peer of New York, furnishes good proof that the balance of power is in the hands of the foreign element; and what can be done in a city may be done in a State, and what can be done in a State may, with a million of votes, by and by be done in the nation. Out of the six millions or more of Catholics in the United States, there are certainly now one million voters, a number added to every year; and these skilfully posted and handled by able leaders when comes the great political and religious struggle which is sure to come at last, as we have long believed, and often said, then the control of our public schools may become the price of victory.

We do not belong to the alarmist school, but we are not wholly blind to the signs of the times; and it seems to be the determination of the Papal church to attempt at least to gain in the United States what it is losing in Italy and France. And while writing this, as stated in a note on a preceding page, the cardinals and priests in con-

¹ Michelet, in his "Priest, Women and Families," says, "The manuscript books which form the course of a student of theology, contain matter the boldest have never dared publish." And speaking of those that are printed he says, "They furnish a set of questions by which a confessor can search a woman's inmost thoughts, compel her to sift her own secrets, to give them up entire, to open her heart fibre by fibre, thread by thread, and unravel before him the whole skein, which he thenceforward holds in his own hands."

clave at Rome, are devising the best means for accomplishing this. They see as clearly as we do that through the influence of our republican institutions, and universal education, and popular literature, and daily intercourse with Protestants constantly asserting religious liberty, freedom of conscience, and the right of every man to interpret the Bible for himself — that through these subtle forces, forever at work, large numbers of their people are drifting away from the control of the priest and from their allegiance to the Church. This must be stopped — hence the desperate effort, already inaugurated, to drive the Bible from the public schools wherever they can, and where they cannot to establish parish schools under the control of the priests. And the Jesuits who have been expelled from so many countries of Europe at different periods, and even been condemned by the Roman Church itself, seem now to control the policy of the Church ; and, as has been said, “confront our republic as it enters upon its second century with an intimation that they are about to control it.” But we go no farther at present. No doubt some of our readers will think all this uncalled for, and pronounce these suspicions and fears wholly groundless. But to show that we are not alone in our judgment of what is possible, and that others wiser than we, and more far-sighted, are not without apprehensions in this direction, we close with the following extract from the paper by John Jay in the *International Review* for March, 1880 :

“That there is to be a struggle, and a hard one, for the control in our republic between the people constituting the State and the ecclesiastics who represent the Roman Church, no rational man who understands the situation can for a moment doubt. In the light of history and reason it seems equally clear, either that the struggle is now to be decided by maintaining against the opposition the supremacy of the State in its right of education intellectual and moral, in its administration of justice, in the safety of elections from priestly control, and in every other legitimate exercise of sovereignty, — or that, if these be yielded through treachery or indifference, the struggle will sooner or later be transferred to the battle field, and decided in the most terrible of conflicts, a religious war.”

Religious World.

Official statistics have shown how largely Intemperance contributes to crime, and adds to the tax burdens of the sober and industrious portion of the community. And it is amazing that the great body of the people, who derive no gains from the infamous traffic, can be persuaded to tolerate this prolific source of evil, of cruelty, moral degra-

dation and human diabolism ; amazing that they can go on year after year patiently suffering themselves to be legally robbed of their earnings to support criminal courts, swarms of police, almshouses, jails and prisons — solely for the purpose of enabling a small minority of liquor-sellers to accumulate fortunes.

But statistics have shown, too, that Alcohol is not the only source of crime, nor alone responsible for the growth of pauperism among us. Ignorance and idleness, the want of a knowledge of some kind of a trade in early life, are also most active and efficient agents in the work, and every year are adding their quota to the dangerous and perishing classes. The New York State Board of Charities says, according to a writer in the *Methodist Quarterly* of July last, that

“ By far the greater part of convicted criminals have never been educated in any branch of useful industry. They hence enter the competitions of life at a disadvantage — inferior or incapable — and while there is room enough for those who, by thorough apprenticeship, possess professional or mechanical skill ; these others in the struggles for a livelihood are pushed empty-handed to the wall ; left without employment, without money, having no alternative but to beg or steal.”

In confirmation of this it is added that in the year ending November, 1881, there were sentenced to Onondaga Penitentiary, from the neighboring counties, 995 criminals. Of these 120 were from twenty different mechanical trades ; while of “ laborers, domestics, tramps, hostlers, and boatmen,” there were 674. And if to this we add the following from the *Christian Union* of October, 1878, we have good ground for the assertion that the want of a trade, of employment, of a knowledge of some kind of business, is one of the most fruitful causes of crime, and deserves almost to rank with Intemperance. Let parents study these facts, and take warning in time :

“ Of 408 convicts in the Michigan State Prison, seventy-two per cent. are, or were, addicted to the use of liquor ; but sixty-two per cent. had no trade. Of 489 prisoners in an Iowa penitentiary 305 are without any trade education. In a Minnesota prison are 235 convicts ; at least 130 of them never learned any business. In the large State prison of Illinois, of 1,500 criminals, one third had no regular occupation before commitment. In the Penitentiary of Western Pennsylvania are 396 convicts, of whom 310 never learned a trade, but sixty-two per cent. of whom were addicted to liquor-drinking.”

— “ Nature ” cites the following from a French journal, the *Union Médicale* of last June, as a discovery of great scientific interest. If it turns out to be real, says the editor, “ it will show that pre-historic man is no longer a myth ” :

"On piercing a new gallery in a coal mine at Bully-Grenay (Pas-de-Calais), a cavern was broken into containing six fossil human bodies intact, — a man, two women, and three children, — as well as the remains of arms and utensils in petrified wood and stone, and numerous fragments of mammals and fish. A second subterranean cave contained eleven bodies of large dimensions, several animals and a great number of various objects, together with precious stones. The walls were decorated with designs of combats between men and animals of gigantic size. A third and still larger chamber appeared to be empty, but could not be entered in consequence of the carbonic acid it contained, which is being removed by ventilators. The fossil bodies have been brought up to the surface, and five of them will be exhibited at the mairie of Lens: the others are to be sent to Lille, in order to undergo examination by the Faculté des Sciences. Representatives of the Académie des Sciences of Paris, and of the British Museum, having been telegraphed for, are expected to be present."

— The following is from Dr. McCosh's "Certitude, Providence and Prayer," No. 4 of the "Philosophic Series." Perhaps it is pertinent to ask why he should believe that God has constituted the natural world on more beneficent principles than those ruling in the spiritual world. If there is a struggle in the material universe in which "it is certain that in the end good will gain the victory," is it bad philosophy or bad theology to conclude that in the struggle going on in the moral and spiritual realm, it is also certain that "good will gain the victory?"

"When we look to this crowning goodness (of God) we feel as if there were something unnatural in the evils which appear in our world. It looks as if creation were unwillingly subject to them. Nature seems to rebel against the evils that are in it. 'For the creation was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of Him who hath subjected the same in hope.' The creation is striving against the tendency to evil. If there be diseases in our world, there are also remedies. Nature everywhere seeks to restore itself. If there be winters in the succession of seasons, they are followed by springs, going on to summers and autumns. If there be travelling it is in order to birth. If there be deaths, there are also resurrections. Nature is struggling, but it is in order to improvement. It is ploughing in order to sow and reap in due season. All creation is moving onward, but also upward. There is a struggle for existence, but a certainty also that in the end the good will gain the victory."

If Dr. McCosh cannot apply this reasoning to the moral as well as the physical universe, we commend him to the larger belief and more logical reasoning of "Big Thunder," with whom George S. Merriam had the pleasing and instructive interviews which he reports to the *Christian Union* of Dec. 6 To the question of Mr. Merriam, "And what is your belief?" he replied, "Well, I believe there is a Greater

Power with us. He is all about us ; He hears every word. He is the atmosphere ! I wish I could say what I want to ; I haven't any English to put my thoughts in. I don't believe that when we die we shall go to a place where we burn up. It isn't reasonable. It's something *here* that we've got to do with. If I put my hand in the fire, it will burn ; if I don't, it won't. Some people say, after being miserable here, we shall be burned forever. But would we make *our* children suffer ? I believe in heaven. *The Greater Power's works must end in a good place.*"

— The newspapers and religious journals have lately been so full of reports of the person, mission, sayings and doings of the Hindu philosopher and teacher, Baber Chunder Mozoomdar, that it would be superfluous for us to attempt any description of the man or his lectures. Never was a heathen man, if such he may be called, received with such universal welcome by orthodox and heterodox alike, as this representative of the *Brahmo Somaj*, this missionary of the ancient East to the modern West. Never was a man listened to with more interest, or his eloquence and fervent piety more thoroughly appreciated and frankly acknowledged. And never before has it been understood how near some phases of reformed heathenism approach to the teachings of Christianity when freed from the dogmas of the Church. The *Congregationalist* reports Dr. Scudder as saying that he considers "Mozoomdar one of the ablest men he knows, and Chunder Sen, at the head of the movement, one of the grandest men the world has to-day. "He had read Mozoomdar's Oriental Christ, and from that and his talk he believes him to be a Christian. That was why he invited him into his pulpit."

We give below some of the articles of belief held by the Brahmo Somaj, from a recent statement, which will surely commend themselves to the approval of our readers :

"The Brahmo Somaj believes that God is, that He is a Spirit, and that He is One without a second.

"That God is present in us and with us. He directs all the functions of the body and mind according to fixed laws. He watches over our thoughts and actions. His spirit surrounds us and fills us, and is the cause and centre of all physical and mental forces.

"That God is present in all the aspects and laws of nature, and nothing takes place without His will and power.

"That as God's general providence superintends the affairs of all mankind and the world at large, so His special providence presides

over the circumstances and destinies of individual men, and leads them through mysterious ways from evil to good.

"That the immortality of the soul means eternal progress in goodness and godliness.

"That without faith in a future existence, religion is impossible.

"That sin is the wilful violation of God's laws, material, moral, and spiritual.

"That there is neither a material heaven nor a material hell; but that heaven and hell are the states and relations of a man's being, according to the merits of his life, both here and hereafter."

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. The Philosophical Basis of Theism; An Examination of the Personality of Man to ascertain his capacity to know and serve God, and the validity of the principles underlying the defence of Theism. By Samuel Harris, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale College. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.50.

To give our readers a detailed statement of the contents and character of this volume would require an entire number of the *QUARTERLY*. We must be content with a very inadequate statement of its aims. It reveals the pleasing fact that, no matter at what point Religion, Christianity, may be attacked, there is always somewhere a defender amply competent to repel the attack, and put the enemy himself on the defence — and in this case Dr. Harris is the man. His work is purely and profoundly metaphysical, embracing the ripe results of years of study and teaching in psychology, ethics, theology, the philosophy of religion, and the relations of science to religion.

In his survey of the vast field of inquiry nothing seems to have escaped him, nothing is superficial; no difficulty is treated contemptuously, no honest doubt, no serious objection is passed by without notice. He takes up every question in a judicial temper, and seems to seek and desire only truth. He appears to have studied carefully the leading thinkers and authors, at home and abroad, in almost every school of philosophy, theology and speculation. The extent of his reading is wonderful, and the amount of *thinking* put into these pages is incalculable. It tires us to *think* even of the days and nights, the months and years of brain labor that this volume must have cost the author. And yet his style, his clear statements, the variety of subjects treated, the rich fruits of his vast reading, the informing character of his historical allusions, his interesting illustrations and the sharpness of his logic, make it easy, and often very pleasant, reading.

We can only allude to a few points. He magnifies his office, or his subject more correctly, and insists that metaphysics investigates and declares ideas and principles on which all science depends, and reaches results the reality of which cannot be impugned without disintegrating the results of all scientific thought. Experimental or empirical science must deal with metaphysical ideas and principles; and physics to-day rests on these, and is largely occupied with the discussion of metaphysical and theological questions. The reality of scientific knowledge ultimately depends on the reality of the existence of God as the Absolute Reason energizing the universe, and the primary ground of all that is.

Reason universal, unconditioned, supreme, is essential to all scientific knowledge. The final question with the atheist and agnostic is not whether man can know God, but whether he can know anything at all rationally or scientifically.

In regard to the moral law, he differs from many other writers, and, not disputing the assertion that the law of love has been the common standard of morals to mankind, he affirms that this, so far from being an objection to Christianity, is a confirmation of its truth, as showing that it has its ground in the sympathies and reason of mankind. Even the Golden Rule is expressed in various ways by many heathen writers. "It has commonly been said that Confucius gave it only in the negative form. But Prof. Ezra Abbott has shown that he has given it both in the negative and the positive forms." But caution is necessary here in regard to the asserted coincidence of heathen and Christian ethics. No system of morals ever taught by heathenism will compare with that of Christ. But his citations from Plato, Plutarch, Cicero, and other pagan teachers, pp. 21-24, are very striking, and would be very convincing if they had not so much of a different sort to offset them. The other side may be seen in Leland's "Necessity for a Divine Revelation."

The charge so often made, that theologians are generally in opposition to scientific discoveries, is denied, and the denial sustained by an array of historical facts which ought to put to shame omniscient scientists and partial historians, such as Dr. Draper. Let us have an end of harping about Galileo. The many have long enough been made to bear the sins of the few. It is time that a distinction was made between Christianity and the Romish hierarchy; between a few ignorant or bigoted priests and the great body of the Christian world. It is time, too, that the accusers looked at home, and apologized for their own bigotry, ignorance, and hostility to all scientific discovery not their own. And here Dr. Harris, with the aid of Whewell, has turned their own guns upon them with great effect; and with a lengthy extract on this point, we must leave the book in the reader's hands:

"Scientific discoveries have no less opposition from the students of natural science themselves than from theologians. Copernicus, in the dedication to Pope Paul III. of his work, '*De Orbium Coelestium Revolutionibus*,' in which he announced and defended his theory, says that he had kept his book by him four times the nine years required by Horace, because he knew how absurd his doctrine would appear; and Whewell adds, 'It will be observed that he speaks of the *opposition of the established school of astronomers, not of divines*.' The theory encountered great opposition from astronomers, as Copernicus had anticipated. It made its way slowly to acceptance by scientific men. Lord Bacon persisted in rejecting it to the end of his life. Whewell says: 'Perhaps the works of the celebrated Bishop Wilkins,'—a divine, it will be noticed,—'tended more than any others to the diffusion of the Copernican system in England.' And Wilkins' books were published in 1638 and 1640, nearly a hundred years after Copernicus had published his system. The great physicians and philosophers of the close of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, Huggens, Bernouille, Passini, Leibnitz, nearly all the disciples of Descartes, opposed Newton's system of gravitation. 'The Newtonian opinions had scarcely any disciples in France, till Voltaire asserted their claims on his return from England in 1738; until then, as he himself says, there were not twenty Newtonians out of England.'

"Of Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, Aubrey, in his '*Lives of Eminent Persons in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*,' says: 'After his Book of the Circulation of the Blood came out, he fell mightily in his practice, and 'twas believed by the vulgar that he was crack-brained; and *all the physicians* were against his opinion and envied him.' And after his discovery was accepted in England, it was opposed abroad; so that when, in later life, he was urged to publish the results of his researches on generation, he declined, because he was unwilling again to incur the 'great troubles' and 'to stir up the tempests' which, he said, 'my incubations formerly published have raised.'

"The controversies of the believers in phlogiston against those who recognized the discovery of oxygen were long and bitter. Dr. Jenner's discovery of vaccination was opposed and denounced by physicians. The Academy of Paris attempted to overthrow the microscopic discoveries of Swammerdam and Leeuwenhoeck, a century after they were made, with the sneer, 'One can generally see with the microscope whatever one imagines.'"

"The *Edinburgh Review* (January, 1879) says: 'The faculty of unconscious and involuntary movement caused by the impact of mechanical impressions, which is now a well understood and thoroughly accepted function of nerve organization, was received as a dire heresy when it was first propounded by Dr. Marshall Hall.' When, in his second answer on the subject before the Royal Society, Dr. H. described the movements of a headless turtle, 'a derisive note was scrawled upon the paper by one of the pundits of the Society, inquiring whether the turtle was alive after it was made into soup. It is a part of the history of this discovery, that, in 1887, this second memorial of Dr. Hall was rejected by the Council of the Royal Society as unworthy of acceptance.'"

"I will not multiply instances which the history of almost every new discovery furnishes. But the clergyman may well say, as Esop's wolf did, when he saw the shepherds eating a lamb, 'If I had done this, what an outcry would have been heard.'" pp. 323, 324.

2. Christian History in its Three Great Periods. First Period, *Early Christianity*. Second Period, *The Middle Age*. Third Period, *Modern Phases*. By Joseph Henry Allen, Author of "Hebrew Men and Times." Roberts Brothers. \$1.00 each.

Aside from the author's radical drift, which is never put forth offensively, we are exceedingly pleased with these volumes. The point of view from which he writes is frankly stated at the outset: "There are two ways of regarding Christianity; one considers it an interpolation in human things, a 'scheme of salvation' introduced at a definite time, completely apart from anything that went before; the other regards it as something regularly prepared for by all that went before, as a crop of fruit is ripened by the sunshine and showers of the whole season. One sees it as a communication from without; the other as a development from within."

And this last is the author's view. He writes of it as the history of a grand and wonderful ethical or moral movement, and seeks to ascertain whence came the mighty forces which secured its splendid triumphs, and shaped it into what it is to-day. The following paragraph, from vol. i: 25, discovers his thought and style:

"Why was it that a little inner circle of Jews — whose leaders were 'unlearned and ignorant men,' more intensely Jewish, and (so to speak) more bigoted and narrow than the average of their countrymen (see Acts ii. 46, iv, 13), — why was it that they could exert such an immense power of attraction and persuasion that in one day three thousand were added to their number, and in a few months they reckoned a company of five thousand souls, and in a few years multitudes were knocking hard for admission at their doors, and in a few generations the whole Roman empire was at their feet? Never in all history has there been the parallel case of a growth so genuine, so vast, or so powerful, out of what was at the start a purely moral movement, or a purely religious impulse."

This fine and striking statement of the wonderful phenomenon tempts us to ask Prof. Allen if a satisfactory explanation of it does not demand something more than "a purely moral" teaching, and more even than "a purely religious impulse"? It seems to us there must have been behind these a greater force than their own to have enabled either of them to have achieved such stupendous results. To employ his own illustration, the ripened fruit requires the sunshine and showers of a whole season; it does not jump into sudden maturity such as is described in his picturesque paragraph. Here are results, from a merely "moral movement," reached in a few years or generations, which would have been marvellous as the ripened fruit of as many centuries. But

we are not reviewing the work, only calling attention to it, leaving the reader to judge how far the author solves the problems involved in the origin and growth of Christianity, in a history which treats it as a merely "moral movement."

Mr. Allen is an independent thinker, a faithful and intelligent student of events, their causes and consequences; of men, their character, motives, aims, and the secret of their influence and power. He seems to us to combine to some extent, the lucid description and picturesque style of Macaulay, with the delicate insight and subtle analysis of Neander without his mistiness and wearisome detail. His sketches of early doctrines and heresies, the rise, development and fall of these, the early and the later Paganism of Rome, the several systems of philosophy and their relation to the Christian Gnosticism, the causes of the persecutions, the growth of the Church as a controlling force in its relation to the imperial power, the Arian Controversy, and many other matters so much written about, discover a method of treatment and grounds of judgment very wide from those of ordinary ecclesiastical historians. They show original study and a perfect mastery of the whole subject, and furnish pictures of men and passing events so vivid and clear that they at once fix themselves in the memory.

3. *The Bishop Paddock Lectures. The Foundations of Religious Belief: The Methods of Natural Theology vindicated against Modern Objections.* By W. D. Wilson, D.D., Presbyterian in the Diocese of Central New York, and Professor in Cornell University. D. Appleton & Co.

For a notice of this excellent work see an article in the *General Review* on "Nature and Providence."

4. *Orthodoxy and Heresy in the Christian Church.* By Edward H. Hall. American Unitarian Association. 50 cts.

This is a theological and doctrinal survey of the same field covered by the historical sketches of Prof. Allen. The first chapter, "Paul and the Apostles," takes up the same subject discussed in the "General Review" of our last issue under the head of "Judaism in the Primitive Churches." The chapters on the "Views of the early Church concerning Christ," "Arianism and the Council of Nicæa," "Controversy concerning the Two Natures," and "Pelagianism," will be found interesting to all classes of readers, and, with the exception of a very few, probably informing to all. They give "the other side" of the controversy and the "heresy" not generally reported, or very imperfectly, by orthodox historians. That on the Pelagian controversy we have read with special satisfaction as showing how trifling the weight which sometimes turns the scale in favor of this and against that, thus making truth heresy and falsehood orthodoxy. Read carefully, too, the chapter on "Trinitarian Heresies," which shows that the Church has had as much trouble with these as with their opposites. We dissent from some things, such as the following, for example, the logic of which we do not see:

"Either Catholicism is right, or doctrine is not essential to Christianity. As true Protestants, of course, our choice is clear. We hold Protestantism to be right: therefore we must conclude that doctrine is not essential to Christianity." "I urge this upon you as the legitimate teaching of the Protestant Reformation; doctrine is not an essential part of Christianity, else Catholicism is right and Protestantism wrong." As if you could have the fruit without the tree; as if it were not essen-

tial to know God, His goodness and purposes of redemption, in order to love Him and cheerfully trust in Him. And what is revelation, whether coming from the material or spiritual world, but information, knowledge, doctrine concerning the character and thoughts of God?

5. *A Companion to the Greek Testament and the English Version.* By Philip Schaff, D.D., President of the American Committee on Revision. With Fac-simile Illustrations of Mss. and Standard Editions of the New Testament. Harper & Brothers. \$2.75.

The preacher, or Biblical student, who fails to possess himself of this volume loses a great deal of pleasure and instruction, and must necessarily waste a great deal of time if he is given to looking up questions pertaining to the literary history and criticism of the New Testament. It is proper to say, however, that those owning the American edition of Westcott & Hort's Greek Testament, have a considerable portion of the matter of this volume in the Introduction to that work; though Dr. Schaff has added to his "Companion" several new chapters, and important contributions from Drs. Abbott, Hall, Lee, etc.

The book is a complete Cyclopædia of all that is known concerning the language and manuscripts of the New Testament: the ancient versions; the quotations of the early church Fathers, both Greek and Latin; the various readings, their origin, number and variations; a complete history and list of all the printed editions of the Greek text from 1516 to 1881, from Erasmus to Tischendorf; a history of the authorized version, and of the Revised version, giving all the interesting incidents and details attending the work, and a list of the changes made, and changes recommended but not made, together with facsimiles of some of the most important and remarkable manuscripts and standard editions of the Greek Testament, itself a very interesting feature of the work.

In these chapters we have the results of years, of centuries of study and critical examination, by scholars of all nationalities and times, of the Vatican, Sinaitic and Alexandrine manuscripts, and their multitudinous successors, uncial and cursive; including the romantic story of the finding and recovery (in 1859) of the Sinaitic Ms. — a valuable account of the earliest translations of the Greek text into the Latin, Syriac, Æthiopic, Armenian and Gothic tongues; and the comparative value of these as critical helps in the restoration and interpretation of the original text — the Patristic quotations as aids in the same important work, as they show what was probably the reading of the manuscripts which were used in those times so near the apostolic autographs.

The history of the Manuscripts is intensely interesting, and worth all the book costs. We have been over the ground many times, but it is always fresh and attractive. The same thing can be said of the history of the Printed Text and the Authorized Version, which is alive with curious and useful information respecting the gradual recovery, from Erasmus to the Revised Version, of a purer original text. It shows how invaluable is the service which Textual Criticism has rendered toward a truthful translation and understanding of the New Testament Scriptures. And at this point we desire to commend this volume to the laity of our own and of all churches. They need the information which it contains, that they may be able to comprehend and appreciate the nature and aim of the work done in the Revised Version; and be attracted to the study of it in order to understand the extent and value of its corrections and new renderings, and the authorities on which they rest.

We cannot close without a word of admiration for the Facsimiles from the great manuscripts; and the most curious editions of the Greek

Testaments, beginning with the Complutensian Polyglott, the first ever printed. They are a study by themselves, and add greatly to the value and the interest of the work. The list of the printed editions numbers 923; and to show the faithfulness of Dr. Hall, by whom it was prepared, 251 of these are on record for the first time.

6. United States Salary List, and the Civil Service Law, Rules and Regulations. By Henry N. Copp. Washington, D. C. 85 cents.

Beside giving a list of all the government salaries from the President down to the village postmaster and the custom house clerk, and of some 20,000 federal offices arranged by States and Territories, we have the Act establishing the Civil Service Reform, and specimens of the examination questions put to candidates for office. This last is a curious and interesting portion of the pamphlet, and amply worth the price of the whole. All who contemplate seeking office under Government will see what sort of an ordeal they must pass through in order to be successful. The questions take in History, Geography, Government and Laws, Book-keeping, Arithmetic, Grammar, Letter-writing, etc. But these are nothing compared to the problems given to a candidate for the office of Examiner in the Patent Office.

7. Arius the Libyan: An Idyl of the Primitive Church. D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

We have read this book with increasing interest to the end. It is a lively picture of social and religious life in the Primitive Church, or the Church of the third and fourth centuries. It places us among the people, and enables us to see with their eyes, to take in their surroundings, to discover how their new faith touched and affected their political and civil conditions, their relations to the government and laws, to their neighbors and kindred, to the public games, and the immoralities and nameless practices of the prevalent Paganism in the midst of which the Christians were living. It helps us also to see their calm, brave bearing under persecution, the unfaltering resolution with which they would go to death rather than deny the Lord that bought them out of bondage to idols. It shows us, too, how easy it was in those times to start a mob of heathen fanatics, and set them to the work of murder, burning and plunder—a thing not impossible in these days, as Christian "baiting" of the Jews in Russia and Austria, and the Mohammedan massacre of Christians in Cairo, have demonstrated.

As to the characters so sharply and strongly drawn, and ascribed to Arius, Constantine and the Eusebii, bishops of Cæsarea and Nicomedia, we cannot speak so approvingly. The author makes a perfect saint of Arius, a compound of atheist and fiend of Constantine, and unprincipled hypocrites of the two bishops named. History does not justify such portraits as these. Constantine was bad enough beyond question, but he was not an incarnation of all evil. The reader will find a far more just and reasonable estimate of the man in Stanley's Eastern Church. The description of the debate in the Council of Nicæa, chapter ix., is a splendid piece of painting; and the Alexandrian manuscript and Thekla, and the forged text of the three witnesses (1 John iii. 7, 8.) are brought in with grand effect.

8. The Scriptural Idea of Man. Six Lectures given before the Theological Students at Princeton on the L. P. Stone Foundation. By Mark Hopkins, D.D. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.00.

The name of Dr. Hopkins will attract attention to this new contribu-

tion to the old question—"Was man created by God, or was he evolved from matter by forces inherent in that?" Of course the Doctor sets his face against that doctrine of evolution which excludes God as the Creator; and the first lecture shows not only that he has done some discriminating and close thinking on the subject, but that he has the faculty of putting his thought into intelligible English. Darwin, Spencer, Tyndall and Fiske, are all cited to the judgment seat of his logic, and sharply cross-questioned. In the second and third lectures, we are instructed as to what is meant by man being created in the image of God. Man is like God in knowledge, feelings, freedom and causative power. Under this head there is a sharp criticism of the definitions of consciousness by Hamilton, Dr. Calderwood and others; and in the discussion on causation in its relation to the freedom of will and choice, we have some nice distinctions which we leave to the judgment of those given to splitting hairs. See also page 122. Lecture iv. deals with the moral nature, without which we could not be in the image of God, without which there could not be Personality. In the fifth Man is considered as male and female, as having dominion, "the king and priest of nature." Marvelous is the correspondence between man and nature, very suggestive of Swedenborg's doctrine of "Correspondencies"—"This doctrine is true, and has been too much neglected by us." The last lecture treats of man in his present corrupt and sinful state, in which he has lost the moral image of God. The Man Christ Jesus reveals to us all the capabilities and possibilities of human nature. And here we have an argument designed to show "the impossibility that Jesus, as he stands before us in the Gospels, should have been the product of his age."

9. *The Sonnets of Milton.* Edited by Mark Pattison. D. Appleton & Co.

We have here twenty-four sonnets of Milton, an Introduction by the Editor of some fifty pages, setting forth with much learning and nice dissection the nature and purpose of the Sonnet, with the rules to be observed in its composition, and copious historical and critical notes on each. These notes constitute the chief value of the editor's work, and are interesting and curious from a purely literary point of view, and rich in biographical information regarding the immortal poet. The mechanical make-up of this charming parchment volume is perfect and "beyond compare."

10. *Biblical Study: Its Principle, Methods, and a History of its Branches—Together with a Catalogue of a Reference Library for Biblical Study.* By Charles A. Briggs, D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Cognate Languages in Union Theological Seminary, N. Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.

The author dedicates his book to Dr. Hitchcock, President of the Union Theological Seminary, and to Dr. Dorner, Professor of Theology in the Berlin University "the survivors of two noble Faculties, to whom he owes his theological training." This dedication indicates the character of his work, which, while it accepts all the *established* results of the freest criticism of the Bible as a collection of sacred books, yet holds to it as containing a supernatural and inspired revelation of divine truth—inspired not in the letter or form, but in substance of doctrine. He thinks the Scriptures need not fear the most searching criticism. If they are the Word of God they will vindicate themselves; the battle will end in victory. The Church doctrine of inspiration may suffer some, but the authority of the Bible is not therefore undermined. It is necessary to determine exactly what is put in peril by the Higher Criticism.

cism, so-called ; whether Inspiration itself, or some false theory of inspiration, or the authority of some school of theology. Whatever may have been the church doctrine concerning the Pentateuch, Psalter, or any other book of Scripture, it will not deter conscientious scholars from accepting and teaching the results of an honest historical and critical study of the writings themselves.

In the chapters on the Languages of the Bible, the Bible and Criticism, the Canon of Scripture, the Text of the Bible, the Literary Study of the Bible, and the Higher Criticism, the author has gathered a large amount of facts respecting the principles, methods and conclusions of the different scholars engaged in studying the origin, composition, style, authorship and authority of the several books of Scripture. All who are interested may by aid of these get a very good view of the whole field of controversy, and understand the exact position and relative value of the several questions at issue. As a historical review of Biblical criticism it would be difficult to find in the same space a more compact, manly and impartial statement. Dr. Briggs is not a narrow partisan : he is not afraid to do justice to the real service which the critical school has rendered in clearing the way toward a discriminating and just decision touching the character and proper use of the several classes into which the sacred books are naturally divided.

We regret the narrowness of our space which will not permit us to quote some pregnant paragraphs that we had intended to give the reader; but we trust that our clergymen will give this book a diligent study. It contains the substance of many costly volumes, and puts into condensed form facts and arguments which in these are drawn out into a tiresome length of words. Altogether the book is a remarkable one to come from the Union Theological Seminary. A most useful feature is the Catalogue of Books of Reference for Biblical Study, divided into three classes ; those for the general public, those for theological students, and those for theological seminaries, — though we do not see the need of distinguishing between the last two. We cannot close without a word for the chapter on "Hebrew Poetry," which is an able exposition of the characteristics, structure, varieties and beauties of the productions of the Hebrew psalmists and prophets, with some fresh and interesting renderings of the original texts.

11. *Don't: A Manual of Mistakes and Improprieties more or less Prevalent in Conduct and Speech.* By Censor. D. Appleton & Co. 85 cents.

An amusing and, what is better, a useful little booklet. Its suggestions are not new, but are put in a way to make them remembered. It ought to be in every house where children are growing up. It is needed. We have met with boys and girls of from eight to sixteen years, and some older, in public conveyances, in parlors, and at hotel tables, whose manners and speech would have been greatly improved, if some judicious friend had occasionally said "Don't." Some of the hints seem unnecessary, and yet many apparently well-bred people are not unfrequently guilty of the mistakes of speech and improprieties of conduct here condemned. It is said that more copies of this book have been sold than of any other since the days of "Helen's Babes." One copy taken up from our table and looked at has sold at least a dozen others.

12. *The Hymns of Luther. In the best English Versions and the Original Text. Together with the Musical Arrangements Written for or Associated with them.* Edited

by Dr. Leonard W. Bacon and Prof. Nathan H. Allen, Mus. Doc. One vol., unique binding, with vignette and two portraits. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.00.

Life of Luther. By Julius Köstlin. With Illustrations from Authentic Sources. Translated from the German. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.

The Scribners are always timely in their publications. Nothing could be more fitting than this beautiful volume issued on the 400th anniversary of Luther's birth, when all the world is singing his praises. Luther was not only the leader and theologian, but the Psalmist also, of the Reformation. His Hymns did almost as great a work as his Preaching and his Bible. He could truly say, Let me make the songs of a people, and who will may make their laws. This volume contains the only complete collection of the hymns and the music with which they are identified, that has ever been presented to English-speaking people. Dr. Bacon has written a most interesting introduction, and prefaces each hymn with an account of its origin. And Luther's four prefaces to different editions are a most pleasing feature of the book.

As Dr. Fisher truly says, "When we look at the influence which has gone out from Luther's manuals of religious instruction, and from the hymns which have been sung in churches and households and by armies on the march to battle, now for four centuries, the measure of his power is felt to be indeed incalculable."

It is well that this 400th year should be celebrated so widely, that it may remind the Protestant world of its great debt to this man, and quicken within all hearts a determination to preserve the heritage of Religious Liberty which he left us. And this brings us to the *Life of Luther*, named above, the most complete and authentic for popular reading to which the great anniversary has given birth. It is impossible to understand the Reformation without a thorough knowledge of the man Luther, his inner and his outer life, his intellectual and religious make-up, both before and after he set his face against the corruptions and abominations of the Roman hierarchy. It is impossible without a clear insight into his soul and will, to comprehend how, condemned and excommunicated as a heretic, with the colossal forces of Pope and Emperor arrayed against him, he was able nevertheless to initiate and carry on to success that great religious revolt and revolution which have changed the face of the world, and opened the way for the Christianity of Christ to take the place of the paganism of the Church.

This *Life* of the great Protestant furnishes an explanation of the wonder of the sixteenth century, and will enable the reader to trace the movement through all its stages. He will see here how largely it was shaped by Luther's wisdom, his iron will, his profound piety, unswerving faith in God's guiding providence and protection, and his indomitable courage in the face of danger. He will see, too, what has not always caught the attention of the average reader—the immense labors of Luther as a scholar and preacher, a Biblical student, translator and critic; the author of hymns and composer of sacred tunes which have stirred the pulses of millions; a writer of pamphlets on the innumerable dogmatic, ecclesiastical, civil and political questions growing out of the troubled times in which he lived; beside his writings and labors against the dangerous extravagances indulged in by various sections of his self-styled followers who brought reproach upon the Reformation, and alarmed many of its friends.

All these things Köstlin puts into his pages, and thus gives a picture of the man and the times, and discovers to us the many-sided character of Luther, and how largely the movement depended, for a time, on this one great commanding soul.

We may add here that this edition, condensed from the author's larger work, was prepared at the request of the Government of Saxony, and is distributed at its expense through all its schools. It contains all the original illustrations, portraits and fac-similes, which are in themselves a curious and informing study for the artist and the antiquarian.

18. *A Little Pilgrim*. Reprinted from *MacMillan's Magazine*. Roberts Brothers. *Beyond the Gates*. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, author of "The Gates Ajar." Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.25.

The Gates Wide Open, or Scenes in Another World. By George Wood. Lee & Shepard. \$1.50.

With lively memories of "The Gates Ajar," we took up "Beyond the Gates" expecting much; but we laid it down disappointed, feeling that in interest and freshness it fell far short of its companion volume. Perhaps, however, it may be that the loss of interest is partly due to the fact that the subject and method of treatment are no longer fresh; though we cannot help thinking that the book is also wanting in originality of conception and plan, delicacy of treatment, and skilful handling of details. While reading it we were constantly reminded of Mrs. Oliphant's "A Little Pilgrim," which it seems impossible that Miss Phelps should not have had in mind when writing. Her book, in plan and purpose, in its philosophy and to some extent in its illustrative incidents, seems a repetition of the scenes and teachings of the "Little Pilgrim."

Both books in fact seem to be largely Swedenborgian, without the name, in their attempt to give a realistic picture of the conditions and relations of the future life. We do not say this in the way of objection to the philosophy of these works: on the contrary we heartily welcome any effort to break from the old conceptions of Heaven as a place where we are to wear golden crowns, play on golden harps and sing psalms to all eternity. We trust that, with the countless worlds and constellations thronging the abysses of the universe, each one of them doubtless furnishing new and marvellous exhibitions of the divine processes of creation, and displays of the divine perfections, we shall have something else to do than this: something better, even, than the kind of social intercourse and heavenly housekeeping described as going on "Beyond the Gates." Of course Mrs. Oliphant and Miss Phelps intend to picture only one phase of the Hereafter Life, and try to make it more natural and possible to belief. For this we thank them, and feel that we have no right to expect more than they purpose or promise.

One feature, a most pleasing and Christian one, is common to both—that death is not the limit of God's mercy to the transgressor. Both introduce with great effect the wretched sinner passing into the other world terrified at the thought of meeting God and Christ, overwhelmed with dread of being thrust down into hell: and astonished to find themselves treated so kindly by the celestial inhabitants, encouraged to trust in the Father, comforted with descriptions of the sweetness and forgiving goodness of the Saviour, and instructed in the things they are to do and seek that their hearts may be opened to the incoming of the Spirit, which shall cleanse and purify them, and prepare them for the duties and blessings of the new life upon which they have entered.

These books will do a beneficent work in preparing the way for our Faith among the wretched and bereaved. And it is an unmeasurable joy to find how largely this faith is inspiring the current literature of the day; and to find too that it is precisely this element which gives these

works their chief interest, and makes them so universally sought after. Multitudes are wearying of orthodoxy, and seeking for a more reasonable Christianity, and this longing will at last land them in Universalism as the only gospel that will fully satisfy the hungry heart.

Since writing the above we have received the "Gates Wide Open," which was first published in 1858. It seems to have anticipated both the others in conception and plan. It is a more extended and realistic description, entering into all sorts of detail regarding the occupations and amusements of the spiritual world, leaving nothing to the imagination of the reader, and out-doing even Swedenborg. Indeed it is altogether too realistic, the difference between the heaven-life and the earth-life in these respects being hardly worth mentioning. Whether the authors of the two works first named ever read "Gates Wide Open," we cannot say, but at any rate they have treated in a more subdued way what Mr. Wood has extravagantly over-done.

14. *The Theory of Morals.* By Paul Janet, author of "Final Causes," Member of the French Institute, etc. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.

Here is a volume of some 500 octavo pages, in which the subject of *Morals*, or *Morality*, is looked at from every point of view held by the various schools of thought, and considered with reference to the philosophical and speculative objections and coarse definitions of Schopenhauer and others. It is needless to say to those who have read "Final Causes" that the work is thoroughly done, and exhaustive in its review of current teachings in the realm of *Morals*. We can only indicate a few general principles of the author's doctrine — to review the work is impossible within any limits of space at our command, even if we felt competent to the task.

Duty consists in doing good, and good consists in doing one's duty — in other words, duty strives after that which is *naturally* good, and a morally good action is one which is done for the sake of duty. *Merit* and *demerit* express not the relation of the moral agent to reward or punishment, but the more or less of his moral value, and the measure of his self-satisfaction or the reverse. Happiness is identical with good: virtue is the practice of good; therefore happiness is not the reward of virtue, but virtue itself, and hence its own reward. A good man must be his own good.

Duty is the law which requires us to strive for our own perfection — that is to say our own happiness. All laws have for their object the good of those subject to them. It is not always easy to determine what duty requires in regard to others. Circumstances modify the demands of duty. Under certain conditions of society the most difficult thing is, not to do one's duty, but to find out what duty is. The author proceeds to discuss Law, Perfection, Happiness, Impersonal Goods, The True and Beautiful, and the Absolute Good in their relations to Duty in the abstract, or as a principle.

Then in Book II. he enters upon the Nature and Basis of the Moral Law, Definite and Indefinite Duties, the Division and Conflict of Duties. In Book III. he takes up the Moral Consciousness and the Universality of Moral Principles, and under this head we have a discussion of Moral Intention, Virtue, Sin, Liberty, Moral Progress and Religion — the last chapter being an eloquent and noble appeal for Religion as the glory and the crown of Morality, whose spiritual truths are demanded by the spiritual nature of man, and absolutely necessary to his harmonious and

complete development. We should be glad to quote half this chapter, but must be content with a few lines only :

"That I may be able to believe in the dignity and excellence of my soul, and of the souls of other men, I must believe in the supreme principle of dignity and excellence. From nothing, nothing comes. If there is no Being who loves men, and who loves me, why am I obliged to love them? If the world is not good, if it was not made for good, *if good is not its origin and end*, what have I to do here below?" Again: "Morality leads to Religion, which is simply belief in the divine goodness. If the world is not derived from good, *and does not go to the good*, virtue is a powerless chimera. *Practical faith* in the existence of God is, then, what Kant called it, the *postulate* of the moral law."

15. *International Scientific Series*. The Organs of Speech, and their application in the Formation of Articulate Sounds. By G. H. Von Meyer, Professor of Anatomy at the University of Zürich. With Forty-seven Illustrations. D. Appleton & Co.

This is a book for specialists, physicians, elocutionists, singers and public readers, or those who intend to be such. We have read enough to discover that it is a work of great professional learning, every chapter giving the results of careful observation and profound special study of the physiological facts involved. The author aims to sketch all possible articulate sounds, and he thinks he has constructed a system in which all known articulate sounds, and all those with which we may hereafter become acquainted, will find place. As remarked, it is a work for specialists; and to students of anatomy, and those who propose to devote themselves to the pulpit, the platform, or the stage, this accurate description of the structure and possibilities of the organs of speech, and the methods of development and using them to the best advantage, must be of great service.

16. *What Shall We Do with our Daughters? Superfluous Women, and other Lectures*. By Mary A. Livermore. Lee & Shepard. \$1.25.

It is wholly unnecessary to praise these Lectures to those who have heard them from the lips of the gifted and eloquent author; but to those who have not, we would say. Be sure you read them, and be sure you have the book in your home, for your daughters, and your sons as well, to read, ponder and "inwardly digest."

"Superfluous Women," which fills seventy pages of the book, to those not familiar with the discussion is a cyclopædia of facts which alone are worth twice the price of the book to all who are willing to be informed. The richly freighted sections are laden with statements regarding woman's work drawn from the pages of history, beginning with the earliest ages and coming down to the present time, which must quicken the dullest soul with admiration for these heroines of humanity, who have glorified the passing centuries with deeds which they may well be content to set against the idle words of sneering critics. "Superfluous"! Heaven grant to our world more such superfluities. Let the reader ponder the beneficent work done by the long list of recent benefactors, Catholic and Protestant, and then match it, if he can, with the equal deeds of an equal list of superfluous men. And here we are glad to note that Mrs. Livermore has done justice to the quiet, courageous, self-sacrificing labors of the "Sisters of Mercy." We have no love for the Catholic Church, but he who can refuse to acknowledge gratefully the divinely beautiful work of mercy done by these women on battle fields, in hospitals, in plague-stricken cities, and in the hovels of the poor, must be of all bigots the most miserable.

Beside the above we have able and interesting discussions of the Physical Education of "Our Daughters," their Higher Education, The Need of Practical, of Industrial and Technical, of Moral and Religious, Training all enforced by pleasing illustrations and striking facts which ought to commend themselves to every thoughtful and loving parent. It is the talk of a woman to women, to mothers, to daughters—and it is the fruit of much reading and thinking, and glowing at red-heat with strong conviction, earnestness and loving sincerity. There is no speculation, no abstract reasoning, and little argument, but the smiters are smitten with the solid sledge-hammer of facts. They may not always be convinced by the reading, but they will thereafter be more accurate in their statements, and more cautious in their sweeping generalizations.

17. *The Inner Life—Thoughts and Themes to Aid and Strengthen it.* Universalist Publishing House. By J. G. Adams, D.D. 50 cents.

This is one of a class of books which ought to be more common among us, books fitted to the spiritual needs of our people, fitted to furnish the bread of heaven to souls that hunger, and to help and encourage such as are striving to get nearer to God in their daily thinking and living. In this volume Dr. Adams has furnished a timely and needed contribution to this department of our religious literature. Many are they in the churches who will welcome the aid and strength which he brings to them in their efforts to develop into expression and activity the germs of devotional life stirring within them.

It is necessary as long as errors and false dogmas are taught, to teach Theology, the doctrine or truth concerning God, His nature, government, laws, and universal love and redemption in Christ; but this is of little worth if the ripened fruit of a religious life do not come of it, if the teaching be not such as to kindle within the soul returning love, and trust, and a cheerful obedience. The connection between these is what this little book endeavors to make real; and the author seeks to prepare the soil for the good seed, and thereby ensure the harvest. He shows the way to a religious life whose fruits are peace, joy, a charity of good works, gentleness, and an abiding trust in the divine wisdom and mercy which reaches over from this life into the next.

We have not room to dwell separately on each chapter, but what Dr. Adams says of Walking with God, the Witness Within, Entertaining Angels, Devotional Life of the Home, Thoughts for Palm Sunday, and Present Salvation seems to us so well fitted to quicken and unfold the Inner Life into fruitful action, that we cannot but feel that they deserve and will receive loving welcome in many homes and hearts. This is what very many among us are waiting for, many who, while they welcome doctrine, are longing for guidance and aid which shall show the way through meditation, prayer and spiritual communion to a daily life that will exalt and glorify the doctrine. We need to this end, as our author urges, more *home* religion, more *home* Sunday schools, more familiar talk of Jesus, his life and teachings, his death and his great redemption, more recognition of God, of His Parental love, of His providence and abundant mercies, so that children may grow up in an atmosphere of religious faith and thought and act.

Let parents read what is said of entertaining angels unawares, and cultivate the feeling in their children that Religion is the pleasantest and safest companion one can take with him in Life's journey; and by and by every home will become a little church, and Sunday school, than which there can be no better in all the land—and yet not displace that

other church and Sunday school that have their mission as ministers to the growth of the "Inner Life" which this welcome little book is so admirably suited to "aid and strengthen."

18. *Rambles Overland—A Trip Across the Continent.* By Almon Gunnison, D.D. Universalist Publishing House. \$1.00.

We would give a good deal if we could write what we think of this book with as facile a pen as that wielded by the author. He is not only the prince of tourists, but a poet and artist, a word and thought painter, who sees everything at its best, and knows how to transfer what he sees to the canvass of his page so that you can see it too. We took up the book when very busy, intending to give the slip to those chapters devoted to regions through which we had ourself passed not very long ago, but unfortunately we opened at the chapter on The Yosemite. The title started pleasant memories—well, we will read the opening paragraph and hurry on—and we did, but we read all the other paragraphs, and all the other chapters to the end; and then turned back, and read up to where we started from. And we venture to say that whoever begins the book will finish it, even those who read his *Letters in the Leader*, for it is by no means a re-hash of those letters, but, with the exception of a few passages, entirely new and fresh in its observations, descriptions and incidents.

"*Rambles Overland*" is in fact a portfolio of exquisite pictures sketched and colored from nature with equal skill and delicacy. Beside this it is a book of adventures (not without perils and "hair-breadth 'scapes'"), and of amusing incidents and experiences by rail, by stage ("over the Rockies"), on shipboard, on horseback and mule-back, and on foot. On one page the reader will be charmed with a glowing description of scenery, alive with all the beauties of poet and painter; and on the next he is compelled to stop reading for laughter over some ludicrous incident, or some comical photograph of man or beast, in terms and similes so entirely unexpected and amusing as to suggest first cousinship to Mark Twain or Artemus Ward. It must be a rare privilege to travel in company with the author of this book—who sees wonders and beauties which most people overlook; who takes in all the teachings of God's glorious world; who is always alive and alert; never weary but on the "Fifty-Mile Walk"; never complains except when he has to foot it and live on beans, and only beans, for three days; who is never without a good story; and who can find and even enjoy the ludicrous side of disappointment, accident and failure. If we should ever again enter upon a long travel, at home or abroad, commend us to the companionship of Almon Gunnison.

19. *Lamps and Paths.* By Theodore T. Munger Author of "On the Threshold." N. J. Bartlett. 50 cents.

Mr. Munger knows how to talk to the level and understanding of children, without being soft or silly. These sermons, preached on Children's Sunday, are admirable examples of how to talk to a Sunday school or a company of children. Divine truths and moral precepts are so mingled with pictures from nature, with flowers and birds, with stories from life and history, with illustrations full of poetry and inspirations toward duty, kindness, unselfishness and manliness, that we venture to say the children who listened to them were all sorry when the pleasant talk ended. And every truth and precept is so surely fastened to some

pleasant incident, or some one's good word or deed, that it will be difficult for them ever to forget it.

"Vows Assumed" is a pastoral address to a company of young persons when uniting with the church. We commend it to the attention of the same class in our own church as full of good sense and wise counsel. The last chapter on "Home and Character" is in the same spirit. It is in substance what we have often preached and talked, regarding what Home should be, and the kind of life lived in it. It is the sort of talk to which every parent should listen. One utterance in it is unworthy of its author, for certainly what he condemns in an earthly parent, he has no right to ascribe to God. Aside from this we should be glad to see the book in every Home and Sunday School Library.

20. *Living Thoughts, The Model Prayer, Golden Truths, and Words of Hope.* Lee & Shepard.

Here are four small quarto volumes, neatly and tastily gotten up, filled with short extracts in prose and poetry, well suited for instruction and consolation. The last two, edited by Mrs. C. M. Means, are more especially intended to comfort those in sorrow, and inspire the bereaved with Christian hope and resignation. Some of the selections are very beautiful and fitting, and a few only are touched with the shadow of orthodox dogmas. Indeed when one attempts Christian *consolation* for the dying and the bereaved, he must shut out the lurid glare of the Calvinistic creed, and open the window that looks toward Universalism.

The Model Prayer is an excellent example of how to teach through the sermon. It takes the abstract principle or precept and puts it into the concrete form of action, as exhibited in history and biography, in daily life and conduct. Deeds take the place of words, and the thought of Jesus becomes visible. The author is a Baptist clergyman, whose creed of course tinges his treatment, though he will not say "Deliver us from the evil one" after the Revised Version.

BOOK NOTES.

The *Illustrated Catholic Family Annual*. 1884. Catholic Publication Society. Very handsomely gotten up. The illustrations are unusually good, and some of the articles are interesting and informing. Those on the "Albigenses" and "Waldenses" could have been improved historically by telling both sides of the story.

The Old Testament Student contains a great deal of fresh and very useful information on Biblical history and criticism, independent of its specialty in Hebrew, which cannot but interest all Bible students. Try a single number, costing only 15 cents. The entire volume of numbers may be had for one dollar. Published by "The Old Testament Book Exchange." Chicago, Ill. The last October number contains the first of three papers by the Editor which discuss the question—"Is the Book of Jonah Historical?"

The Manhattan, a handsome Monthly Magazine from New York, has made its regular visits to our table for some time, and we ought long ago to have acknowledged its welcome presence. It is a purely literary magazine, and is conducted with ability and enterprise. Its illustrations are equal to anything found in *Harper's* or the *Century*, and its corps of contributors takes in some of the best known names in our literary world. The Nov. and Dec. numbers contain some excellent articles—two on Matthew Arnold, his "Critical Writings" and his Poetry; a delightful sketch, with illus-

trations to match, of "New York in 1783," and "A Corner of Acadia." In the November issue Dr. McCosh writes of "Carlyle and his Influence on the English Language," and makes a good argument in his favor. There is an appreciative paper by H. C. Pedder on "Wordsworth and the Modern Age," and a pleasing historical sketch of "The Old Cradle of Liberty" — Faneuil Hall. The illustrations of these papers are admirable; and the whole make up of the magazine is in the best style. \$3.00.

The English Grammar of William Cobbett. Carefully revised and annotated by Alfred Ayres, author of "The Orthoëpist," "The Verbalist," etc. D. Appleton & Co. \$1.00.

Philosophic Series, No. IV. Certitude, Providence and Prayer. By James McCosh, D.D., LL.D., etc., President of Princeton College, Charles Scribner's Sons. 50 cts. See a passage from this able treatise in the "Religious World" of this number, which will give the reader a taste of its quality. Of course Dr. McCosh is not a Universalist, but he does not attempt to prove that Nature paints the Divine portrait in the soot and sulphur of the Orthodox creed.

Universalism and Universalists — "What I Believe Concerning Endless Punishment," and "Further Remarks on Universalism." By Rev. R. G. S. McNeille, Pastor of South Congregational Church; With Replies Thereto by Rev. John Lyons, Pastor of the Church of the Redeemer, Universalist, Bridgeport, Ct. American Publishing House.

Mr. McNeille is evidently an honest, outspoken man, but not well informed regarding the doctrine he attacks. He respects Universalists as good men, but hates Universalism as a bad doctrine; forgetful of the Savior's statement that "an evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit." Mr. Lyon follows up his orthodox brother's assertions and proof texts with "a sharp stick," as the Dutchman said; and shows very clearly the difference between proving punishment for sin, which every one believes, and endless punishment, which no one ought to believe.

The Bryant Calendar is a very pretty thing from the Publishing House of D. Appleton & Co. A beautifully illuminated card, 13x9 inches, with an excellent likeness of the poet; to which a calendar is attached containing selections from his writings for every day in the year; each with some beautiful thought or some useful lesson helping to make the passing day a minister to the pleasure or instruction of the Home.

The Works of Orville Dewey, D.D. With a Biographical Sketch. New and Complete Edition. American Unitarian Association. \$1.00.

Body and Will: Being an Essay concerning Will in its Metaphysical, Physiological and Pathological Aspects. By Henry Maudeley, M.D., author of "Body and Mind," "Physiology of the Mind," etc. \$2.50.

The following came to hand from Charles Scribner's Sons just as the last pages were made up.

Kadesh-Barnea—Its Importance and Probable Site, with the Story of a Hunt for it, including Studies of the Route of the Exodus and the Southern Boundary of the Holy Land. By H. Clay Trumbull, D.D. \$5.00.

Among the Holy Hills. By Henry M. Field, D.D., author of "On the Desert," "From Egypt to Japan," etc.

Where Did Life Begin? A Brief Enquiry as to the Probable Place of Beginning and the Natural Courses of Migration Therefrom of the Flora and Fauna of the Earth. A Monograph by G. Hilton Scribner. \$1.25.

John Bull and his Island. By Max O'Rell. From the French under the supervision of the author. 50 cts.

A Day in Athens with Socrates. Translations from The Protagoras and The Republic of Plato. 50 cts.

All the works noticed under the head of "Contemporary Literature" and "Book Notes" will be found on sale at our Publishing House.

A New Book Now Ready.

THE INNER LIFE:

Thoughts and Themes to Aid and Strengthen it.

By JOHN G. ADAMS, D. D.,

Author of "Talks About the Bible," "The Universalism of the Lord's Prayer," "Fifty Notable Years," and other successful books.

The following is the introduction :

There is a twofold life for us all, the inward and the outward. That the outward be right and true, the inward must be. Here is just where Christian instruction begins with man, by enlisting his heart, — his affections ; putting them in tune, that the true life shall be given out from them. Being born again, born from above, renewed by heavenly love, all this implies rightness at heart. The Christian is in reality what his inner life makes him. He may appear to men in one aspect, and to God entirely in another. If there is to be a good and strong life-work done, there must be a strong life-power within to render this work actual, continual and effective. If the Golden Rule is to be observed, it will not be by any ordinary cleverness of the individual, any contentedness with an average piety and benevolence which may be natural to the soul without much extra exercise or striving. You must have a living, wakeful, watchful, prayerful soul to do that, or it will not be done. It was with this inner life that Jesus had most to do. It is more than anything else insisted upon in the New Testament. "We know that he abideth in us by the spirit which he hath given us."

The reader will note in these pages very plain indications of the theological opinions and connections of the writer ; but also, it is hoped, some good measure of that charity ever in readiness to accept and give out the benediction, "Grace be with all them that love our Lord JESUS CHRIST in sincerity."

That those who consult these few pages may be directed to the attainment and enjoyment of the "eternal life" in CHRIST, is the earnest prayer of the writer.

CONTENTS:

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WALKING WITH GOD.
THE WITNESS WITHIN.
SAINTS AND SAINTSHIP.
JESUS THE MORNING STAR.
ENTERTAINING ANGELS.
WHAT IS DEATH TO US?

PRESENT SALVATION.
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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ART. IX.	THE JEW—FROM THE MACCABEES TO CHRIST. Part II.	133
	Rev. A. G. Laurie.	
ART. X.	THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD,	151
	W. E. Manley, D.D.	
ART. XI.	THE CREED QUESTION,	160
	Rev. Wm. S. Balch.	
ART. XII.	THE GOSPEL OF PERDITION ACCORDING TO JOSEPH COOK,	179
	Rev. O. F. Safford	
ART. XIII.	THE RISING OF THE GREEK THEOLOGY,	190
	Rev. T. C. Druley.	
ART. XIV.	METHODISM AS A SENSATION,	196
	Austin Bierbower.	
ART. XV.	THE RELATION OF MEMORY AND CONSCIENCE,	209
	Georgianne E. Watson.	
ART. XVI.	"THE NEW COVENANT,"	212
	Prof. H. P. Forbes.	
ART. XVII.	RE-AFFIRMATION OF UNIVERSALIST EXEGESIS,	221
	O. D. Miller, D.D.	
GENERAL REVIEW.		226
	The Church at Corinth—Demons and Demoniacs Among the Greeks—Schaff's History of the Christian Church—Woman in Ancient Egypt.	
CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.		249
	Trambull's Kadesh-Barnea—Mead's Martin Luther—Maudsley's Body and Will —Memoir of Rev. Charles Lowe—Riddle on the Epistle to the Romans—Scrib- ner's Where did Life Begin—Works of Rev. Orville Dewey—A Day in Athens with Socrates—Jackson's Post Nicene Fathers—Leighton's Life at Puget Sound —Straub's Consolations of Science—Field's Among the Holy Hills—Fletcher's Twelve Months in an English Prison—Guyot's Creation; or the Biblical Cosmog- ony in the Light of Modern Science. Book Notes on John Bull and His Island; Froude's Luther; Deterioration of the Puritan Stock; McKim's Sermons on Future Punishment; Appleton's Book Buyer; Darwinism as Stated by Himself.	

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The following is the

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

I. WESTWARD HO!	VIII. THE APPROACH TO THE YO SEMITE.
II. THE YELLOWSTONE PARK.	IX. THE YO SEMITE.
III. SAUNTERINGS IN WONDERLAND.	X. THE ORANGE LAND OF CALIFORNIA.
IV. A FIFTY MILE WALK.	XI. ACROSS THE DESERT.
V. OVER THE ROCKIES BY STAGE.	XII. A MEXICAN DETOUR.
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ARTICLE IX.

The Jew — From the Maccabees to Christ.

PART II.

WHERE stood the Temple, there stood national unity, stability, and resistance to progress. Where spread Synagogues, there teemed ever-multiplying centers of intellectual movement, diversity of view, and individual as against co-operate religion. Both worked together for the well being of religion, and outwardly, in harmony. Yet the thrill of the Synagogue troubled the conservatism of the Temple. And the gravity of the Temple disliked the nimbleness of the Synagogue. Still, the freest upholder of the Synagogue kept within the unity of Israel by frequent sacrifice in the Temple. But he felt its worship ponderous, its forms mechanical, while in the Synagogue thrusting aside priestly mediation, staple of the worship of the Temple, for himself, he stood face to face with God. The priestly party of the Temple reaching God less by soul than by symbol, resented, but silently, their own supersedure by the personal worship of the synagogue. Priests came there, but not heartily; and were received there, not quite as laymen, yet scarcely as priests. The aroma of their office clung to them, but faintly. They took part if they chose in the services, and at their close pronounced the benediction.¹ But with that exception, only on a par with other worshippers they felt themselves supernumeraries, and the dignity of the Temple chafed at the equality of the Synagogue, and was uncordial there. And, rooted in the old paths, naturally the priesthood looked askance at the mind of the nation slipping from its old forms into the activities of the Synagogue. Nor did it oil the fracture, nor span the divergency, that, in the Temple lay the strength of the Sadducees, and that of the Pharisees in the Synagogue. From the rise of the Synagogue, ever more and more impossible became to the Temple its former monopoly of Jewish unity.

¹ Deutsch, 139.

At the laying of the foundation of the new building, "all the people shouted with a great shout, (and) praised the Lord;" but the "ancient men that had seen the first house wept with a loud voice, so that the people could not discern the noise of the shout of joy from the noise of the weeping."² Unconscious welcomes and farewells were these; the sobs of the old, unknowing laments for the priestly unity of the past, the shouts of the young, salutations to the freer unity of the future, with body in the Temple, mind and soul in the Synagogue. Different this from the forecasts of Isaiah and Ezekiel. By "an high way from Assyria," "the outcasts of Israel and the dispersed of Judah" were to assemble "from the four corners of the earth," no more two nations, but one," under "one shepherd, in the land and upon the mountains of Israel."³

It was not so to be. The outcasts from Israel had sunk from sight like streams in the sand. And the remnant from Judah that returned, yeasting with germs from the incipient Synagogues of Ezekiel,⁴ could no more have re-settled on the lees of the past, than could the various Protestantism of to-day pack itself into the moulds of Hildebrand. Yet, to revive in the new conditions, the dead things of the old, fain are the legends of the return. At the Overthrow, snatched by flying priests from the altar, the sacred fire had been hidden in a pit. Pit and fire miraculously discovered at the Return, the fire had become Naptha. And to the prayer, that again in His "Holy place God would plant His people, His whole people, Israel, as Moses hath spoken," the Naptha, Fire sacred to Ormazd, consumed, by sanction of Nehemiah⁵, the first sacrifice on the re-erected altar of Jehovah.⁶

The prayer, longs back to Mosaic unity. The sacrifice, offers "strange fire before the Lord;" offence under Moses, guilty of death.⁶ The past invoked by the petition is unreal; a dream shimmering through the glammers that glorify the

² Ezra iii. 22, 13.

³ Isaiah xi. 12, 16; Ezekiel xxxvii. 21, 23.

⁴ Ezekiel viii. 1; xiv. 1; xx. 1; xxxiii. 30, 31.

⁵ II. Maccabees i. 19-36.

⁶ Leviticus x. 1, 2. The Naptha still burns perpetually in the Parsee fire temples at Baku on the Caspian "All round the World, vol. ii. p. 298.

perspectives of memory. Save in the ideal, such 'past had never been ; nor ever therefore could answer summons to revival. Yet the legend has meaning. Natural to the Jew of the period were his pleadings for the past. But by the Naptha on his altar, himself suggested the impracticability of their realization.

That Naptha was not only his courtesy to the religion, but, as against his Mosaic nationality, was his homage to the lordship of Persia. And how would have brooked that lordship, the Jew's attempt to solidify his prayer ?

Not at all of his past, the Naptha was a symbol of his future ; its smoke, pillar of cloud between himself and his backward ; its flame, lamp through their obscurities, to lore and languages other than his own. The day of the Naptha dates the dawn of his expansion. Then felt he the first thrill of brotherhood for aught beyond Judea. Resiliences afterwards had he many.

But mostly under grind of persecution, or in the astringent hatreds of war. Never again, anchorite from the world sank he quite back into his sulky seclusion.

Abhorring idolatry, in his fight for independence he yet raged not against the idolatry but the tyranny of the Greeks.

Let him keep it to himself, and the Greek might coddle his idolatry as he liked, for aught cared the Jew. It was an absurdity ; but no concern of his. But against idolatry forced on himself, he was fell. It was against this compulsion of conscience, his suffocation of soul, that, on field of fight, he cut to nothing the armies of Antiochus. His thought of them as idolaters, may have whetted, but his fury against them as tyrants, was it, that maddened his sword. Still, once they were under it, for them, he had the usual tolerances of war. But out from his own blood shot a spume of traitors, vilest of foes. Covenanters of Scotland would have banned them as " malignants," Republicans of the Revolution, as " rascally Tories." ⁸

⁷ We know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one, I Cor. viii. 4.

⁸ " A rascally Tory rode in the night to give notice to the enemy." Washington to his brother, December 18, 1776. Mahon's History of England, vi. 127.

Against them, pitiless, "he set his face like a flint."⁹ What wonder! By birthright, Jehovah, their Father, their mother, Judea, their nurse, the Synagogue, the Decalogue, their alphabet, and their master, Moses, trampling on every sanctity of nature and of home they "joined themselves with the heathen," cringed to Antiochus, "were sold to do mischief," sacrificed to idols, "set up the abomination of desolation," — 'an offering of swine every day,'¹⁰ upon the altar," tore and burned "the books of the Law," murdered circumcised children, and hung the little corpses to the necks of their mothers. Originals of the war,¹¹ at every lull they blew its embers into blaze, whooping both sides on again to slaughter. On these, the Jew was ruthless. For ransom, slavery, or return of prisoners, Greek captives easily he spared. Apostates, never! Against them, relentless, raged his sword, hewing them in pieces "before the Lord."¹² "Eight hours long hung in balance Wellington's fight at Waterloo."¹³ Afterwards, said he, "had I had the army broken up at Bordeaux, the battle would not have lasted for four."¹⁴

But for the inveteracy of the traitors the war of Jewish Independence, tormenting the patience of three and twenty years, — begun B.C. 166, ended B.C. 143, — would have closed at Adasa in five. "Nicanor pitched in Bethoran. Judas pitched in Adasa. The hosts joined battle. Nicanor's host was discomfited; himself slain. They cast away their weapons and fled. The Jews pursued after them a day's journey, sounding after them with trumpets. The people rejoiced greatly. The land of Juda was at rest."¹⁵ The statement adds, for "a little while." For, for eighteen years longer the war devoured its prey, and did so at provocation of apostate Jews. To the faithful of the time, "a man's foes

⁹ Of the Tories again he writes, "these wretched creatures — one or two have done what a great many ought to have done long ago, — committed suicide!" 1st April, 1776. Mahon etc., vi. 66.

¹⁰ Josephus, "Antiquities" xii. v. 4.

¹¹ I. Maccabees i. 43-62, *Ibid.* verses 11-16.

¹² I. Maccabees iii. 15; vii. 5, and 21, 22.

¹³ I. Samuel xv. 23.

¹⁴ Maxwell's Life of Wellington, iii. 497.

¹⁵ Timb's Wellingtoniana, 59.

¹⁶ I. Maccabees vii. 40-50.

were they of his own household." Brothers of one womb had each other by the throat. A foreign, tarred on a civil war, screwing its dagger in the nation's heart.

Yet out from desperation triumphant rose the loyalists, "so that being but a few they overcame the whole country and chased barbarous multitudes, and recovered again the Temple renowned the world over, and freed the city, and upheld the laws which were going down; the Lord being gracious unto them with all favor." "Then the sword ceased from Israel." Regular government returned. Traitors were extinguished. For Jonathan Maccabees, now independent monarch of Judea, (B.C. 152) "destroyed the ungodly men out of Israel."¹⁷

To the devout Jew of the time, native heathenism was blasphemy; to the patriot, treason; by both to be "hated with perfect hatred."¹⁸ To the heathenism of the Gentiles as Gentiles, the exclusive son of Abraham deemed himself indifferent. Yet, perhaps, unconsciously aversion to it may have steeled his pride at his lowest against summoning Gentile aid. At any time of his straits he might have had it from Rome. For his tyrant, Antiochus, was no favorite there.

In the first year of the Jewish revolt, (B.C. 168,) he had overrun Egypt and was at siege before Alexandria. Despatches from Rome bade him begone. To their bearer, said Antiochus, "I will consider." Scoring a circle round the king, "ere you cross that line," said the Roman, "decide." He did; and rushed to vent his fury on rebellious Jerusalem. Had the Jew sought Rome then, he would have missed the miseries and the glories of the wars of the Maccabees. But he craved to win by himself alone. He won. For not till his midnight clomb to morning, with foresigns of a triumphant meridian, threw he out hails to others; nor then for help, but acknowledgement.

While yet "in wars on every side," he hesitated "to be troublesome" for assistance from others.¹⁹ For he had

¹⁷ II. Maccabees ii. 21, 22; I. Maccabees ix. 73.

¹⁸ Psalm cxxxix. 21, 22.

¹⁹ The first message to Rome for aid (161) was rather in form than earnest. I. Maccabees viii. 17, 18.

"help," and trust in his help, from heaven. But now, (B.C. 141) enemies brought under foot," he sends an embassy of "amity" to Rome and another of "salute" for "renewal of brotherhood" to Sparta.

Hitherto in touch only of the powers of the East, of these two States of the West, fallen Sparta and transcendent Rome he had but the scrappy knowledge of hearsay.²⁰ He had heard of Spartan valor; time and place of its display likely unknown to him. He had rumor of Roman might; his knowledge of it inaccurate and confused. But through all his misapprehensions about them, this he knew, that both States were heathen. Yet, seeking no strength from them when most he needed it, now in the flush and jubilee of his triumph, red, too, from the massacre of his own heathen, from the two peoples he deems foremost among the heathen of the outer world, he bespeaks recognition, "brotherhood and friendship." They were heathen, but they were heroes. He had stirred to the blare of their trumpets from afar. And zealous as ever for Jehovah, his martial sympathies trod down his religious aversions, and the soldier set foot on the priest in him as he rose to lock hands with the virtues of idolaters. Only virtues of war were they. What then? Not from his own battle-fields they were just the brilliances then to captivate him, and to whirl him out of his Jewish narrowness into brotherhood with patriots and freemen the whole world over. And for a while they did. No loftier character is there in history; not even the Athenian, devout, just, and true, while, ran his heroic century after Marathon, than is the Jew of the days of the Maccabees.

Even Rome, contemner of every people but her own, held him then, her "friend, confederate, and brother."²¹ Diplomatic common-places, these? Perhaps. Yet not to be used, even in compliment, except of a people firm in Roman repute.

Not at that time could any premature Tacitus have evoked echo to the scoff that, "in the sanctuary of their Temple (the

²⁰ "Judas had heard of the fame of the Romans." I. Maccabees viii. 1.

²¹ "Demetrius had heard say that the Romans had called the Jews their friends, and confederates and brethren." I. Maccabees xiv. 38-41.

Jews) consecrated the figure of an ass."²² At his issue in triumph from his three and twenty years struggle for Independence, for eminence as a soldier in no second rank stood the Jew. Nor was he well forward only as a fighter. He had become a man of affairs; broad of view, keen of opportunity, thoughtful of plan, prompt of deed. He headed Egyptia armies, and in Egypt was welcomed to the highest offices of the State. In Alexandria, two of the five districts of the city were set apart for him; and in the other three he was every where. He lived there under a government and governor of his own.²³ And throughout the city his industries were omnipresent. That wealth is power, who had learned so featly as the Jew? And by his religious peculiarities, not one of which would he surrender, disadvantaged among his competitors, who, in chase of gain so supple, swift, sure as he?

Throughout the Empire, above all and every, was the Jew a trader. Wherever marched Roman army, with Crassus to Parthia, Pompey to Spain or Pontus, Cæsar to Gaul and Britain, keen for commerce as was Rome for conquest, tracked the columns of that army and threaded the lines of its enemies, the ubiquitous, indefatigable, inexhaustible Jew.²⁴ Ninety years before his patronage by Cæsar, throughout her provinces from Africa to Parthia, Rome had accorded him protection for his person and his business.²⁵ And for what now was ever more and more becoming the purpose of his practical life, he profited by her patronage and "gathered gear by every wile," not always "justified by honor."

In Rome itself multiplying his population and his shekels, insensibly he worked himself in among the social forces of the city, and became a formidable factor in its public opinion.

²² Tacitus History (Bohn) 267. Of the Jews in the desert, says he, that distressed by thirst, "they lay ready to expire, when a herd of wild asses returning from pasture went up a rock shaded by a grove. Moses followed them, and forming his conjecture by the herbage . . . on the ground opened copious springs of water!" This! Yet, with Thucydides open to her scholars, Rome scoffed at Greek truth!

²³ Chelcias and Ananias, Jews, commanded the army of Cleopatra. Milman's History of the Jews, II. 86 and 82.

²⁴ Mammesen's Rome, iv. 589.

²⁵ I. Maccabees xv. 10-24.

And woe to the greedy prætor returning from his province, if his fingers had dabbled in the purses of the Jews. The howls of their brethren in the city set aroar at him the curses of the whole populace of the capital.²⁶

And this before the fall of Jerusalem. Immediately after it, his restless traders, scattering every-where, scaled the farthest boundaries of the Empire, the farthest limits of Parthia, and struck aloof into the farthest eastern provinces of China.

In Pekin, Ning-po, Hang chen, and Cai song-fou, in the modern province of Honan, about 175 A.C., numbers of Jews were settled and well at home. Declining intermarriage with the Chinese, despite their rigid Judaism they were good Chinese citizens. An imperial inscription of date 1515, A.D. commends them as exemplary subjects, magistrates, soldiers, and, of course, traders; commends, too, their faithfulness to their own religion. They abjured proselytism and revered Confucius. They kept, and strictly, their Sabbaths, and jealously, their Holy books. They had, too, their Synagogues, and maintained circumcision. In remembrance of their old Temple in Jerusalem they had reproduced it in miniature in China, and barred its Holy of Holies against entrance, save, once, annually, by the high priest. Like all the branches of the Dispersion, they looked forward to a Messiah.²⁷

That they had never heard of Jesus nor of his religion as an offshoot from their own, implies their emigration from Judea before his day, or, more unlikely, the disappearance of his story from their traditions among the clouds of time. But whenever or wherever outscattered this spore of Jewish energy so far afield from home, what an epitome is it of the complicate Jew. Through alien, and doubtless, often hostile peoples, of tongues unknown to him, through tribes fierce and savage, to push his way from Jerusalem to the borders of the Yellow sea, needed such a blending of boldness with wariness, such sweep of aim with vigilance of detail as demanded for their compaction a man of men.

²⁶ Mommsen's *Rome*, iv. 539.

²⁷ Milman's *History of the Jews*, ii. 494-497.

But after his rest was reached, among people, manners, prejudices, and religions, strange, and to him repugnant, that he should settle down in his new surroundings with comfort alike to himself and his hosts, to their usages willow, yet steel to his own, tells how virile yet versatile was the humanity of the Jew. That later in his history he lost himself and went down into the depths of degradation, is true. Shame to the bastard Christianity that hounded him into them.

Yet even in his debasement, subtle of brain and alert of device was he above his rivals. When his knavery outwitted theirs, "see," said they, "the inborn nature of the Jew." Nay, the character tattooed on him by puncture of incessant persecution.

Not of such was the Jew of the Maccabees, hewing his way to freedom through overwhelming foes. Not of such were his teeming sub-nations in Egypt and Babylon.²⁸

Nor again of such was he, who, wherever sailed ship, paced mule, or plodded camel in caravan, swarmed over the routes of the land and the paths of the seas, from Egypt to Britain, from Britain to China, the unresting merchant, trader, trafficker, the omnipresent Jew.

As he is now so was he then, autocrat of finance. The granaries of Egypt, when full, fed, when empty, famished Rome. And there, dearth meant tumult. The rabble were dined by the State.²⁹ And if to the cry of the proletariat, "games for ever and bread for nothing," there came no response of corn, then mobocracy. Now, of the store houses of Egypt the Jew held the keys,³⁰ and on board her grain ships his hand held was at the helm. Wheat to Italy could pass from Egypt only under his permission. For he had supervision of the navigation of the Nile and the contiguous Mediter-

²⁸ Philo reckons his countrymen in Alexandria at a million. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (ed. 9,) "Israel," p. 430. In Babylon the Prince of the Captivity splendid in his surroundings, was sub-monarch over a free, industrious, and wealthy people. *Milman's History of the Jews*, vol. ii. 492.

²⁹ Date of free bread to the mob began with Gaius Gracchus (B.C. 123), lasted while Rome lasted, and urged her fall. So far as he could, Julius Cæsar tempered its mischief and reduced the number of recipients from 820,000 to 150,000, changing the custom from sop to the mob, into a sort of poor law. *Mommsen's Rome*, iii. 123; iv. 496.

³⁰ Edersheim's *Jewish Social Life* etc., 208.

anean. For its daily bread the metropolis of the world was at mercy of the Jew.³¹

Never before had he busied himself with conversions from the Gentiles; nor has he been anxious for them since. But in his rebound under the Maccabees from the crush of Antiochus, till Christ, and onward to his Day of Judgment in the down throw of Jerusalem, he "compassed sea and land" for "proselytes."

He began in the South with Idumæa, home of the children of Esau, brother of his own patriarch, Jacob. Since the day of the twins, in alternate triumphs and defeats, between their descendants had raged the old fraternal feud. In the conquest and conversion of Idumæa John Hyrcanus, eighth of the Maccabees, quashed the strife, merged Edom in Judæa,³² at point of sword compelled its people to circumcision and the whole cult of Judaism, till "hereafter they were no other than Jews."

So through Iturea on the north swept his successor, Aristobulus, (B.C. 105), welded the district to Judæa, and transmuted the Ishmaelites into Jews.³³ By conquest the kingdom of the Homerite Arabs became Jewish subjects and believers.³⁵

From Agrippa II., the last king of Judæa, and in the war sider with the Romans, there went over to Josephus, while still leader reluctant of the Jewish revolt, two men of note. Not Jews, they were, likely, chiefs among the mercenaries of Agrippa. The Puritans of Josephus clamored for their circumcision. And only by huddling them off in secret did he save his volunteers from mutilation.³⁶

Farther on in the war, to a captured centurion the zealots barely spared life at price of circumcision.³⁶ In Rome itself they seized and stamped revolting Gentiles into twofold more sons of Gehenna than themselves.³⁷

³¹ "In Rome a whole population might be trembling lest they might be starved by the delay of an Alexandrian corn ship." Farrar's *Early Days of Christianity*, 140

³² B.C. 106. ³³ Josephus, *Antiquities*, xiii. ix. 1 and xiii. xi. 8.

³⁴ Merivale's *Rome*, iii. 286, 287. ³⁵ Josephus, "Life," xxiii. and xxxi. 1, 2.

³⁶ Josephus, "War," ii. xvii. 10.

³⁷ Matthew xxiii. 15. "If you will not concede like Jews, we will force you to come over to our party." Horace B. i. Satire iv.

Spurts of fanatacism were these, denounced by every decent Jew. Still at this time, even in such an one, stirred the yeast spuming over in such outrages in the vulgar. Over his old type of exclusiveness there had passed on the Jew a change. Exclusive as ever, he was now what hitherto, since at the Return when he rebuffed the Samaritans, he had never been, comprehensive. Formerly shutting door against the Gentiles he had repelled them. But now, in fervor of Messianic hope, eager to multiply his numbers and "make ready a people prepared for the Lord," (Luke i. 17), even the wariest of his number set at least the wicket gate ajar, and under scrutiny of his wisest and best, invited all who would to enter and be at one with him. For "our wise men teach that when a heathen comes to enter into the Covenant, our part is to stretch out our hand to him and to bring him under the wings of God."³⁸ Flinging himself abroad, too, among the hesitating and kindly, he essayed, nor vainly, to coax them to his usages; chiefly to the rest and festivity of his Sabbath. Could he attract them to it and its meanings, idol worship might grow absurd to them, and their prejudice weaken against the religion of Jehovah.

Outwardly he was widely successful. The vaunt of Josephus, that there was "no city, Greek or barbarian," where the Jewish Sabbath with its "lighting of lamps" was "not observed,"³⁹ is confirmed by the rage of Seneca, that "the (Sabbath) usage of that most villainous race pervades all lands," and that "the vanquished give laws to the victors."⁴⁰ "Let us prohibit lighting candles on Sabbath."⁴¹

"Something with me, would you," of a friend, asks Horace? "Yes, but it is the Sabbath; would you affront the Jews?" "No religion of mine, theirs," replies the poet. Response of the other, "to me it is; I am one of the many; pardon me; another time."⁴²

At Rhodes, Diogenes, grammarian, gave lectures "every

³⁸ Smith's Biblical Dictionary, Proselytes.

³⁹ Against Apion, B. ii. 40.

⁴⁰ Lecky's European Morals, i. 248 note 2.

⁴¹ Seneca, as quoted by Huidekoper in his "Judaism at Rome," 228.

⁴² Satires i. 9.

Sabbath day." Coming late, Emperór Tiberius is bidden return "the seventh day."⁴² Imperially, Roman, in race and sympathy, Rhodes was Greek. And, doubtless, as at Rhodes, through the Greek cities of Asia prevailed every where the Sabbath, a borrow from the Jews.

Aside from the local "rites and ceremonies," says Tacitus, "their other institutions (though) tainted with execrable knavery" have been extensively adopted." His anger at their ubiquity stamps the seal of a fact on it as fact.

Less visible than his institutions, secretly spread every where the central idea of the religion of the Jew.

As he had interpenetrated the customs of the Gentiles with his Sabbath, so had he lined their disintegrating idolatries with his monotheism.

The sprightly gods of Greece were dead. Their clumsy parodies, at Rome officially paraded by the State, to all but the groundlings were puppets in a farce. Every where thoughtful men were on watch for a religion at once of reverence and reason.

To their want one sole God, Creator and Providence of the Universe, offered Himself in the religion of the Jew. And before its offshoot, Christianity, came into notice, it had begun to occupy the minds of multitudes.

In high places at Rome its early conversions were not creditable. Never was itself creditable any where when its monotheism was grasped by superstition barely as a dogma.

Of such recipients of it, highest in rank (about 64 A.D.) was Poppea, first, wanton, next, wife, of Nero.⁴⁵ Vile but beautiful, she charmed Nero into favors for the Jews.⁴⁶ Josephus "received costly presents from Poppea." He calls her "a religious woman," otherwise a Jewess. He had speech of her through Aliturus, a comedian, by profession infamous,⁴⁷ a minion of Nero, and by birth a Jew.

⁴² Suetonius, "Tiberius" xxxii.

⁴⁴ History v. 5. Bohn 268.

⁴⁵ Tacitus Annals, xiii. 45. Bohn 344.

⁴⁶ Josephus "Life" iii. 2; Antiquities xxviii. ii.

⁴⁷ "Public opinion branded actors as infamous." Lecky's Rationalism in Europe, II. 287.

Caracalla (211 A.D.) is said to have been suckled by a Jewish nurse. And the beastly Heliogabalus (219 A.D.) hated pork, and had "received the sign of circumcision."⁴⁸

Many such converts in low places as in high, followed the recruiting drums of the baser serjeants of the Jew, affected some of his observances, and mobbed to his standard when pitched, as often it was by his fanatics, as the naked symbol of an unfruitful monotheism. For so, it was but riddance from fear of the gods, and meant atheism and looseness of life.

But when, not as soothsayer, imposter, exorcist,⁴⁹ but apostle, himself exemplified his idea of the Godhead by its attendant moralities, fail he might to persuade proselytes to the feet of his Supremo, but fail he could not to persuade sincere men to respect, if only from a distance, a faith whose Divine, he reflected in his human, righteousness.

No convert to Judaism surely was Julius Cæsar. But he had tested, what Tacitus at his bitterest, concedes, the "faith inviolably observed" by the Jew.⁵⁰ And despite grudge of Greek and Roman priesthood, Cæsar insisted that in Rome itself there should be equal security for the worship of the Jew as for that of Greece and Italy.⁵¹

Such was his admiration of true Judaism, that in his private chapel, among images of other benefactors of mankind, the good Alexander Severus (222 A.D.-235) reared one to Abraham, and so protected the privileges of his descendants that their effusiveness blessed him as Father of the Synagogue. Adulation this? No. The natural exaggeration of gratitude.

For, except gleams of grace to them as parasites at the Palace, since the ruin of their Capital by Titus, the degradation of more than a hundred and fifty years had been grinding despair into the souls of the children of Abraham, when suddenly an Emperor of Rome consecrates the majesty of their

⁴⁸ This, possibly, however, as priest of the Syrian sun god, Heliogabalus, whose name he assumed. Milman's History of the Jews, ii. 483, 484.

⁴⁹ Of the low Jews of Rome says Juvenal, "for the minutest corn Jews will sell you any dream you please." Satire vi. p. 60, Bohn. At Rome "the Jews became the principal exorcists." Lecky, European Morals, i. 404.

⁵⁰ Merivales Rome, vi. 204.

⁵¹ Milman's History of the Jews, ii. 484.

great forefather and throws the ægis of Rome in front of their religion.

True that in the imperial oratory, on par with Abraham stood Appolonius of Tyana, Pythagorean heathen, and the Jew's arch heretic, Jesus Christ. True, again, that, confirming the religious privileges of the Jew, the impartial Emperor confirmed also those of the heathen, and worse, the Christian. And still farther true was it, that like his circumcised predecessor, Severus had been priest of the Syrian sun god Helio-gabalus, nor ever ostensibly was other than heathen.

But under his sigh of relief from oppression sank out of sight for a while the bitterest antipathies of the Jew. And unless against his slumbering aversion to the Gentile, heathen, or specially Christian, rubbed too roughly, he, once vaunting himself the spiritual paragon of mankind, was content to cower in equality of clientship with those hitherto under foot of his haughtiness.

A. G. Laurie.

ARTICLE X.

The Resurrection of the Dead ; or an Exegesis of Portions of the 15th of I. Corinthians

PART II.

FROM the point in this chapter to which we arrived, in our former article, verse 28 to verse 35, nothing is said by the author that can be of any service to us in our inquiry concerning the resurrection, as presented in this part of Paul's writings. We will, therefore, pass over this portion of the chapter without remark.

Having given a clear and distinct statement of the doctrine of the resurrection, the apostle puts the rest of what he has to say into an answer to a question or questions, which he supposes some one to ask.

But some one will say, How are the dead raised? and with what manner of body do they come? 35.

I. It is generally thought that this passage contains essentially but one question, as if the two clauses related to one and the same process. With this view, to be *raised* and to *come* are the same idea. This opinion we do not accept. To one in this world, the resurrection is not *coming*, but *going*. Had the author been in the resurrection state, and been writing for the inhabitants of that world, the questions would have been proper ones. How are the dead raised up? and with what manner of body do they *come*? But as the author resided on the earth, and was writing for the benefit of his earthly brethren, he must have intended by *being raised* an action in one direction, and by *coming*, an action in the opposite direction. It is not difficult, we think, to ascertain what two actions or processes are here meant.

Jesus said to his apostles, that he was going away to prepare a place for them, and would come again to receive them to himself; that where he was there they might be also. In this very chapter Paul had referred to this coming of Christ. "They that are Christ's," he says, "shall be made alive," or raised from the dead, "at his coming." This coming is at the hour of their death; and that, therefore, is the time of their resurrection. Paul believed and taught that Jesus would not be alone when he came for his disciples; that his saints would be with him, 1 Thess. iii. 13. In another place he says that the dead. God will bring with Jesus, 1 Thess. iv. 14. This may be only an inference of Paul from the words of Jesus, relating to another subject, namely, that he would come in the glory of his Father, *with his angels*; or it may be that he had received direct instructions on this subject. If the saints are to come with Christ, the interrogator in the passage before us would like to ask, With what manner of body do they come? He assumes that they will have entered the body which they are to occupy forever, and will come with it. It is easy to see that this implies a previous resurrection, which could only be coincident with the coming of Christ for his disciples, namely, at death.

This view is confirmed by the teaching of this same apostle in 2 Cor. v. 1-8, where he says, the earthly tabernacle is dissolved and the house that is of heaven assumed at the same moment, that is, at death. He says, too, that in the earthly body we are absent from the Lord; but that being absent from the body we are present with the Lord; and this last implies that we are clothed upon with the immortal robes. Our being with the Lord is the promise of Jesus that he will take us to himself, that where he is, there we may be also.

We conclude that the verse we are considering relates to two processes, first, the resurrection, and second, what is supposed to take place with some, after they have entered on the resurrection state. "How are the dead raised?" What is the nature of the change which they experience in going from this world to the next? And when Jesus and his saints come, according to his promise, to take his disciples to the place prepared for them, "with what manner of body do they come?" This meaning is consistent in itself, and the interpretation agrees perfectly with what the same author teaches in other places.

II. If we follow Paul in our notice of this language, we shall take up the last question before we do the first, namely, with what manner of body do they come? This shows us plainly that the character of the resurrection body was a matter of deep interest then, as it has been ever since. Then, from the way the author takes the subject up, it is plain that some thought the future or resurrection body would be the same which we now have. He certainly discards this idea, which he would not have done if nobody had held it. This theory is inconsistent with the doctrine of a continuous resurrection, and makes it altogether a future event. We are very confident Paul's doctrine is the continuous or progressive resurrection. Such, too, is the teaching of Jesus to the Sadducees. He says that the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, were raised before the time of Moses. We can think of no point of time so suitable as the moment of their death. That was being "gathered to their fathers."

No one seems to have held to a future life without a future body. No question is asked involving that idea. The point at issue seems to have been, whether the future body would be physical or spiritual.

Thou foolish one, that which thou thyself sowest, is not quickened, except it die ; and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not the body that shall be, but a bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other kind ; but God giveth it a body, even as it pleased him, and to each seed a body of its own, 36-38.

The epithet, "thou foolish one," (*aphrōn ἀφρων*.) which Paul applies to his supposed interrogator, looks to us uncivil, not to say abusive. At the same time, if there is any thing reproachful or discourteous in it, there was no one to take offence. The words are those of Paul ; and if any one of them is not the best that could have been employed, he is alone to blame. The literal sense of *aphrōn* is *unwise*, from a negative, and *phrēn* the *mind*. Jesus had used the word and applied it to the learned Pharisees ; and Paul had applied it to himself, and claimed the indulgence of his brethren in boasting a little, as he calls it, on that ground. See Lukæ xi. 40 ; 2 Cor. xi. 16, 19.

III. The comprehensive character of the question, *How are the dead raised ?* is an important point in this discussion. It is a common practice of a certain class of interpreters to assume that all the apostle says about the resurrection in this chapter applies to the righteous. It is very plain that those who take this ground, look upon the apostle's description of the resurrection state as indicative of an exalted condition of glory and felicity that can belong to none but the righteous. That this condition belongs only to the righteous we gladly admit. And hence, when we find conclusive proof that it is a condition designed for all men, we are driven irresistibly to the conclusion that all men will be righteous in the immortal world. We use the word *irresistibly*, because we doubt not that some do, as we once did, resist this conclusion with all their might, instead of accepting it joyfully, as we might expect.

Coming back to the question, How are the dead raised? What evidence is there here that the question concerns only a part of the dead? *THE DEAD*. Does this mean the Christian dead? the righteous dead? Nay, surely. No such idea is conveyed here. That the dead are righteous; or, if not at the moment of death, will be sometime, we do not doubt; and the proof is abundant, (and we need not go out of this chapter for it); but nothing of this is in the question, How are the dead raised? If Paul refers to this inquiry by describing the condition of a portion of the dead only, then he has asked a question which he does not answer: or he has asked one question and answered another. The truth is, the question concerns *the dead*, *ALL THE DEAD*, and the answer of Paul covers the same ground — not more, for that is impossible — not less, for that would be to stultify himself.

IV. *That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die.* The term *thyself* which the late revisers have found in the Greek text, and have inserted in their version, does not seem to add anything to the sense of the passage. If it conveys any sense at all it is a sense surely not intended, namely, that there may be a difference between the sowing of the one designated “thou thyself,” and of somebody else. Our decision is prompt, that “thyself” does not belong here. It takes a large number of *yeas*, on the part of “manuscripts, versions and fathers,” to vote down a single *nay* uttered by the passage itself.

To quicken, in this passage, is the same as *to make alive*, in some others, being the same original word. See verse 22. It is a self-evident proposition, that one must die, before he can be raised out of a state of death. It follows then, that a universal resurrection implies a universal dissolution. Paul says, that “in Adam all die,” before he says, “in Christ shall all be made alive.” That all must die in order to be quickened, is a truism, which the apostle utters for other reasons, perhaps, than what appear in the context. Some may then have held, as some do now, that Enoch and Elijah went to heaven without dying; and many now hold, and appeal to this very

chapter for proof, that all will not die, but some will be caught up, and fitted for heaven, without suffering the pangs of death. All this is swept away by these few words of Paul, *The seed is not quickened, except it die.*

An infidel writer (Taylor, in his "Diegesis," we think,) has said, "Thou fool, Paul, that which thou sowest is not quickened, if it die." But Paul is right after all. He does not speak philosophically; but uses the common parlance, according to which, the seed dies, when the outer covering or pericarp dissolves, and helps to nourish the germ, and causes it to grow up into a new plant. According to the same parlance, or *modus loquendi*, a man dies, when the body returns to the dust as it was, and the spirit to God who gave it. Those who believe that the spirit does not die with the body, adopt this form of speech, as much as those who believe it does. When we wish to say, *The sun rises*, we say so, in those words. We never think that we are conveying a false impression, and ought to say, "The earth turns on its axis, and makes the sun appear to rise, when it does not." This would convey a false impression to most people; and they would say at once, that we deny the rising of the sun; and this would be true, in one sense.

Had Paul, instead of using popular language, said, "The seed, which thou sowest cannot grow up into a new plant, unless it have a living germ within, and is placed in the earth, where that part of the seed which enfolds the germ, shall dissolve, so as to allow the living principle to be developed into a new plant," he might have come nearer the exact truth; but the idea he wished to convey, would have been less distinct, in most minds, than it is, with the words he now employs. In either case, the same idea of the impossibility of a resurrection, without death, would have been conveyed. The simplest form of words, for conveying Paul's idea of the resurrection, would be, perhaps, that the soul passes out of one body into another — out of a mortal, into a spiritual and immortal body. In strictness, all the apostle asserts in the words before us, is, that we must have the first, before we can

enter the last. This was as true of Enoch and Elijah and of Jesus Christ, as of all others.

V. The figure of the *seed* will help us to illustrate some of the language brought into our first article as well as the present. There is nothing that can make a subject so plain, as a suitable figure ; and there is no figure perhaps, in the whole range of nature, better adapted to our present subject, than that of the seed ; and we may select for our purpose, "wheat, or some other grain." "By man is death ; by man also is the resurrection of the dead," says Paul. The compound nature of man, as expressed in this passage, has its likeness in the seed, By the seed is death ; by the seed is also the quickening into new life. One part of the seed stands for one of these ideas ; and another part stands for the other : the outer and visible part of the seed, for death ; the inner and invisible life, for the resurrection. The nature of the resurrection, too, is here obvious. The living germ passes out of the old body into a new one. This is its resurrection.

"In Adam all die ; in Christ shall all be made alive." So all seeds die ; and so likewise are all seeds made alive. One of these things pertains to the body of the seed ; the other to the soul.

VI. *Thou sowest not the body that shall be.* This is spoken of the seed ; but for the reason only, that the same is true of man. How, then, we would ask, in all earnestness, can any one claim that the body which we now have, will be the residence of the soul in the resurrection ? No one that does not shut his eyes can help seeing, that Paul condemns this doctrine in unmistakable terms.

Let the reader consider, for a moment, the reasonableness of Paul's doctrine. In the present world we are furnished with bodies adapted to this state of existence. Here is found the nourishment, which these bodies require ; here, too, are the materials that can be wrought into clothing ; and others, that can, by the genius and hands of men, be converted into dwelling places, and other structures for the comfort and con-

venience of men. Our future home of the soul, is called spiritual; and Paul says our bodies there will be spiritual. This is reasonable.

A bare grain, that is, thou sowest *a bare grain*. *It may chance of wheat or of some other kind*. No matter which we take for illustration, is the meaning. Hence the apostle gives no preference, but speaks only of the *seed*. We sow the kernel. This is all we do; God does the rest. He gives the new body; and Professor Hitchcock adds, that the body which God gives, though not the same, *is precisely like the one* that was deposited in the ground. Hence he argues, that, though the resurrection body will not be the same, which we have here, it will be *exactly like it*. He saw the utter folly of trying to make the apostle teach the common doctrine. He, saw, too, no doubt, some of the difficulties in the way of this doctrine. These are insuperable; and they will readily suggest themselves to all minds open to conviction.* But in the affirmation, that the resurrection body is precisely like the present, he thought Paul was on his side. The ground of his mistake is in the supposition that Paul uses the seed for argument, and not merely for illustration.

Paul reasoned from analogy; but he knew how far he could safely reason in this way; and stopped without making any mistakes. Others reason from analogy; but they go too far, and fall into gross errors. The apostle did not use the analogy of the seed, so far as to conclude that our future bodies will be composed of the same materials as the present because the seed produces its exact kind.

But what Paul failed to do, Prof. Hitchcock has done. Suppose, then, we take up the same reasoning from analogy, and go a little beyond the Professor. "The seed that is produced is composed of the same materials as the seed that produces it," says Prof. Hitchcock. Now *we* say, that the same materials, so far as they are the same, must be equally subject to decay, and equally capable of reproduction. Paul says, the wheat seed may be used to illustrate our subject. The wheat produced is as subject to decay, as that which produces it.

How then can it stand for an immortal body, that can not decay? Again, the seed produced can be sown and produce again. Nay, one seed will produce thirty, sixty or a hundred. With such analogies as these, we may find a hundred bodies in the future life, awaiting one soul! We may find all these bodies as subject to decay as the present one. We may find ourselves as capable of reproduction as we are now.

This is what comes from analogical reasoning, without a knowledge of the exact limits, within which it should be confined. Paul does not infer the future bodies of men from analogy, but says that this will be determined by the pleasure of God. If your future condition and surroundings were to be like the present, it would be reasonable to conclude that the pleasure of God would assign us other bodies similar to the present; and for the reason that such would be best for us. But that the future would be like the present, Paul did not know; and so he refers the matter to the pleasure of God. In the next place, he says, God gives to each seed a body of its own. This can mean no more than a body suited to its nature. We may infer from this, that our immortal bodies will be adapted to our wants. These wants, in a spiritual and immortal state, will be different from any which we have now; and our bodies must correspond. This he expresses by saying they are spiritual.

All flesh is not the same flesh; but there is one flesh of men, and another flesh of beasts, and another flesh of birds, and another of fishes. 39.

Here again we have the argument from analogy. In supposing the bodies of men, in the future life, to be different from those they have now, Paul reasons from the analogy of God's other works. As the diverse animals of the earth are assigned different elements and spheres of action, it was necessary that their bodies should be various, and adapted to their condition and surroundings. So far, therefore, as our future life will be different from the present, we ought to expect that God will give us bodies unlike those we now occupy. He will at least consult our comfort and convenience, as

much as he does those of the lower animals. This is only reasoning in a general way; it is not giving us any exact information concerning the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." But he assures us that the future residence of the soul will be according to the pleasure of God — that it will be our own, that is, adapted to our nature — that it will be suited to our condition, like the bodies of the other creatures of God; and we will add, that our condition will be as much better than theirs, as our nature is more noble and exalted. This surely should satisfy all rational beings. But Paul has much more to say on the glorious prospect before us.

There are also celestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial; but the glory of the celestial is one; and the glory of the terrestrial is another. There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in glory, 40, 41.

VII. The reference to the different classes of animals (including man as an animal) had in view the difference between the bodies of men here, and their bodies hereafter. But the present quotation is to show that the glory of the resurrection state is greater than that of the present. Here, too, the analogical argument is employed. The apostle first makes a general reference to the heavenly or celestial bodies, as compared with the terrestrial. He then names the former, the sun, moon and stars. The general reference authorizes the belief that our future abode will be far more glorious than the present. All the heavenly bodies here represent the future condition of mankind. When, therefore, these heavenly bodies are expressly spoken of as differing in glory, the natural inference is, that the future is diverse, as well as the present, though far more glorious. This inference can be set aside, only by showing, that the apostle did not make a proper use of his illustration. Can this be shown?

The common opinion of the foregoing passage, shared by the writer till now, would have been abundantly sustained, if the last of the two verses had been omitted. When the apos-

tle uses all the heavenly bodies to represent the future, he shows clearly that the future is more glorious than the present. Up to this point, he does not recognize any difference in the future life. But when he proceeds to call our attention to the fact, that the sun has one glory, the moon another, and the stars another; and adds that even the stars are not all alike, he either commits an inadvertence, or he authorizes the belief, that the glory of one soul, in the immortal world, will be greater than that of another. Some will shine as the sun; others as the moon; and others as the stars; and one star will differ from another star in glory. This comes as near an infinite variety, as any possible illustration could make it. Our earthly bodies are so various that no two can be found exactly alike — no two, that do not widely differ. This answers and wise, a beneficent purpose, no doubt; and the same must be true of the future.

So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption; it is sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body. If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual body. 42, 43, 44.

The apostle had dropped the figure of the seed, in order to introduce other illustrations, that, for the time being, answered his purpose better; but now the seed comes into play again. When he says, *It is sown*, he means of course, *The seed is sown*. And as, when he first mentions the seed, it stands for soul and body; so it must, now. The words that introduce the above passage show the same thing. *So is the resurrection of the dead.* The resurrection of the dead concerns both soul and body. And the word *so* obliges us to apply the illustration that precedes it to the soul and body both. The glory represented by the heavenly bodies belongs to the immortal state, after the soul and body are united. This shows the propriety of the infinite diversity of that state; for it is a diversity of intellect, of virtue, of disposition and taste with each soul, as well as of the spiritual body, through which the soul acts.

To the end of the 39th verse, the apostle is speaking of the *body* only ; and is answering the question, With what manner of body do they come ? He then proceeds to the other question, How are the dead raised ? But he gives us no clear illustration of the change, till he comes to the 42d verse, and says, “ *so* also is the resurrection of the dead.” How far back does the word *so* require us to go ? Evidently to the beginning of the 40th verse. Of course, in showing how the dead are raised, Paul will give us more or less information about the resurrection body. But when he says, *so* is the resurrection of the dead, it is evident that he is now going to answer the first of the two questions ; though incidentally he may say something that has a bearing on the last.

The first thing he says in answer to the question, How are the dead raised ? is, “ It is sown in corruption ; it is raised in incorruption.” This contains nothing concerning the nature of the seed. The corruption, in which the seed is sown, belongs to the soil, and not to the seed, so far as this passage informs us. In like manner, the incorruption in which the seed is raised, belongs, not to the seed but to the new life. We may readily infer, that when the seed separates in the ground ; and a part of it remains ; and another part rises into a new life, each “ follows its affinity ;” the first mingling with the surrounding corruption ; the other seeking the incorruption of a new life. What we have said, on this first particular, will enable us to treat the others more briefly.

The dishonor and glory next mentioned belong, the first to the soil, and the second to the future life of the seed. But let it be observed, that the *dishonor* does not denote absolute dishonor, but a lesser glory ; for the apostle had said before, “ The glory of the celestial is one ; and the *glory* of the *terrestrial* is another.” There is a glory of the stars ; and is not the earth a star ? Dishonor belongs to the earth, and must therefore be a lesser glory ; while the glory in which the seed is raised, is a greater glory.

The weakness and power come next. “ The field is the world,” in which the seed is sown. There is no reference to

the *grave*, in which the body is buried ; but the corruption, dishonor and weakness belong to the *world*. It is through weakness of intellect, that many errors exist. It is through weakness of conscience, that sins are multiplied. It is through weakness of heart, that many noble schemes prove abortive. All this is excluded from that condition into which the seed is raised.

The natural body and the spiritual body present great difficulties to many expounders. We propose to remove these, by a different rendering. There is no pronoun *it*, in the rendering, "*It* is sown ;" but it became necessary from the fact, that the verb *is sown* has no other subject ; every one of the nouns that follow this verb, being in an oblique case, and governed by the proposition *in*. (*ev*) But when we come to the passage, "It is sown a natural body ; it is raised a spiritual body," the pronoun *it* ceases to be a necessity, and becomes absurd. Let us see. The pronoun becomes unnecessary, for the reason, that the verb has another subject. This is *body*. The rendering should be, The natural body is sown ; the spiritual body is raised. If we use the other form, It is sown a natural body, we use a contradiction. We say it, (the seed, the whole seed) is sown a natural body ; while this natural body is only a part of the seed. The next sentence is equally contradictory. It asserts that the seed is raised ; and then that only a part is raised ; for the spiritual body is only a part.

The passage, now before us, was designed to make plain all that went before, concerning sowing and raising the seed. It says, The natural body is sown ; the spiritual body is raised. Not so the soul of the seed — that is sown and the same is raised. That is first in the natural body ; and then in the spiritual body. The man who reads this illustration of the apostle, and especially with our improved rendering, and does not see that the soul passes out of the natural body into the spiritual, in the process of the resurrection, must be very stupid, or suffering "judicial blindness."

The last sentence of our last quotation begins with an *if* — If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual body. We

do not know what authorities for this word *if* the revisers may have discovered. Doubtless they became satisfied, that the word was genuine. In *Tittmann* the word is given as a various reading; but he does not put it in the text. Tischendorf, and Westcott and Hort, sustain the *if*. It adds something to the emphasis of the assertion, that there is a spiritual body.

VIII. It will be seen that in the passage now before us, every verb is in the present tense. So *is* the resurrection; it *is* sown; it *is* raised, four times repeated. There *is* a natural body; there *is* a spiritual body. We have had the same form repeatedly; and we shall find it often in the rest of the chapter. This is exceedingly proper, if the resurrection is a continuous and progressive work. But if it is all future and simultaneous, we should not expect to find this usage.

It is the same with the questions, which the apostle is answering, *How are the dead raised?* With what body *do* they *come*? If one would like to know how we account for those instances in which the future term is employed, our reply is, first, that such instances are comparatively few; and, next, when they do occur, they relate to the living, whose resurrection is future, because their death is so; or they relate to all mankind including the living. In some instances the translator gives a future tense, when the original is not future. Luke xx. 35 is a notable example. See king James' version. The late revisers have changed the tense.

W. E. Manley, D.D.

*One sound argument is as good as a thousand. We will give one in the form of an anecdote, the truth of which we can vouch for. When we had our residence in Gainesville, N. Y., more than forty years ago, we knew a physician, whose name was Amaden. He had a son that followed the same calling; but our anecdote concerns the father, who was an unbeliever, and not the son, who was an exemplary Universalist. The old doctor had great respect for Universalism; but Orthodoxy he despised and abhorred with all his soul. Of course the rigid religionists showed their zeal for God, by not calling him. He was a very skilful physician and surgeon. And these pious people were not so anxious to leave "this wicked world" and go to heaven, but that, as a last resort, they would send for "old Amaden." On one occasion, one of these men had a son, who had suffered long with a diseased leg. At last the doctors said, it must be amputated. The distressed father, who hated Amsten; and whom A. did not love above measure, finally consented that A. might be called. Several of the

ARTICLE XI.

The Creed Question.

MUCH has been said, preached and printed on the Creeds of Christendom. The question is still often and warmly mooted, whether they should be, or can be, altered, amended, and improved, or must remain intact, to be made the test of faith and fellowship for all future generations. We have no desire to enter the list of contestants. Able advocates are enlisted on all sides, amply qualified and willing to exhaust what arguments and present what authorities, can be found to sustain their differing opinions.

Back of these arguments and above all human authorities lies the more important question, whether it were not wiser, better, more Christian to abolish all Creeds, designed and constructed by ambitious men and voted into authority by majorities in councils and conventicles assembled for the purpose. Civil governments have no rights in such matters. Although Creeds are become little more than playthings for some, dead letters for more, and subjects of controversy wherever regarded of saving importance; they are still the basis of sectarian distinctions and harmful in many ways. They are harmless only when let alone. They have outlived their usefulness, (if they ever were useful,) and are generally kept out of sight to be exhibited only on special occasions. They have too long led to bitter and hateful contentions and rivalries, creating discords and diversions in churches and neighborhoods, alienating friends and families, awakening doubts and creating difficulties in serious minds which often end in

medical fraternity were in attendance. All gave their opinion, that the limb could not be saved, except Amaden. He said he had two reasons for not taking off the leg. One was, that *it could be cured*. He was silent for a while, when one of the attending surgeons reminded him that he had given but one of the two reasons, for not taking off the leg. That *it would get well* was very gratifying; but if he had another reason, they would like to hear it. The doctor said his second reason was a very important one. The lad was young and his limbs were small. If they should cut off the limb and bury it; and the boy should grow to be a man, he would present a sad appearance in the resurrection with a man's body and a boy's leg!

unbelief, and lead to a distrust of the sincerity of those who profess them. They certainly have been used, whether intended or not, to control religious thought, circumscribe reason, prevent free investigation, and misguide conduct, denying "the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, and entangling in a yoke of bondage."

A Creed is a statement of what is believed by *him who makes it*, it may be, in whole or in part, of what is believed by him who *accepted it*. It may contain truth; it may contain error; or, more likely, a moiety of truth and a modicum of error. Did it contain all truth, nothing but truth, absolute truth, it could need no change; it could not be improved, but might, with propriety, be proclaimed perpetual and universal. It would prevail as far and as fast as it became known. It would unite and make free all who embraced it. The Council at Ephesus did so proclaim, and solemnly enjoin that, "No person shall be allowed to bring forward or to write, or to compose any other Creed besides that which was settled by the Holy Fathers who were assembled in the city of Nicæa." Many Creeds had been adopted by previous councils and synods, one of which was afterwards ratified at the council at Chalcedon; and the Nicæan Creed has been changed and enlarged several times since. So it appears the "authority" assembled at Nicæa, backed by imperial authority did not protect the Creed of "The Church Universal," nor secure the "union, peace and harmony," for which that famous council was called. On the contrary, new differences arose, feelings were embittered, fiercer controversies and wider divisions were augmented, and heresies and irreligion increased more rapidly than ever.

A Christian Creed professes to be a summary or compendium of Christian doctrine. Its makers and abettors claim to *know* exactly what is truth in the abstract and in the concrete, and precisely how to state, define and defend it, to make it the ultimate standard of a saving faith; the only condition of fellowship and right to the Christian name. Outward assent to such Creed is all that ecclesiastical or inspired author-

ity can demand, enforce, or expect. It is accepted, though the heart be far from it. At the stake, on the rack, in the dungeon, it is sufficient, while, in fact, the love of life and self-right veil the conscience from the sight of ungodly persecutors, and appeal to the law of God, higher than church or state ever did or ever can enact. Before Creed Inquisitors honesty is not allowed to speak the truth or plead the right in safety. Doubt or hesitation is construed to mean "damnable heresy," to be punished with anathema here, and endless misery hereafter. This is the milder form, to which little importance is now attached by the thinking people, in or out of the church. Formerly it had a much deeper and more fearful significance, and the expected tortures of the future were faintly imitated by the most exquisite sufferings the devices of cruel and wicked men could inflict. Honesty, sincerity, the deepest convictions of truth, right, duty, purity of life, holiness of heart, loyalty to God, conscience, humanity and the king, availed nothing in ecclesiastical courts. Confession of the Creed, however insincere and hypocritical, offered in the last extremity, with becoming grace, obtained deliverance and secured protection.

That such a Creed was formulated by Jesus, or authority-given his disciples to form one, cannot be pretended. His was a different ruling in the chancery of the kingdom he came to establish in the earth. What is called the Apostles' Creed was not known till near the middle of the eighth century. It was never adopted by any general council of the Church.

It was very natural; yea, it was necessary that the missionaries of the gospel should make a plain, distinct, emphatic statement of the *Principles* they had learned of Jesus, which they believed to be true and important, and which they taught in his name, in distinction from the theories and practices of the people for whose conviction, conversion, and salvation they labored. So much was indispensable to the success of their mission. But that they were given a dogmatic Creed to offer for the Confession, or to enforce for a guide and limit of their faith, beyond the simple conviction that Jesus was the

Christ, the promised Messiah, a teacher of truth and righteousness, the Son of God the Saviour of the world, who was crucified but rose from the dead and brought immortality to light for the hope and comfort of mankind, cannot be made to appear from the Book. A more certain and infallible test was given by which to *know* and to *be known* as his disciples; one which cannot be counterfeited: "*By this shall all men know ye are my disciples: if ye have love one to another.*" "*By their fruits ye shall know them.*" If the form in the rite of baptism be cited, it is enough to say that no instance occurs in the record of the Acts of the Apostles or in the Epistles where that form was used; but simply, "in the name of the Lord Jesus," Acts viii. 16.

That faith is an essential element in the plan of salvation, in the formation of Christian character, and regulation of conduct, in the pursuit of happiness and every enterprise, no reasonable man can doubt. Without it nothing would be undertaken, nothing pursued, nothing accomplished, beyond the common instincts of animal life. The rational man must be convinced and believe before he will begin. The farmer will not sow where he does not believe he shall reap. The merchant will not buy what he does not expect to sell. The hunter does not seek where he does not hope to find. The prudent general does not lead his army where he does not believe to win a victory. The scheming politician does not lay his plans, spread his net, and spend his money, unless he believes to beguile his followers and win promotion. "He that would come to God must believe that he is and is the rewarder of them that diligently seek him." He that would secure the blessings and hopes of Christianity must believe on Jesus as the way, the truth, and the life, and keep his commandments.

Faith is as essential in intellectual, scientific, moral and religious as in material pursuits. The processes of obtainment are not much unlike. The object being higher, nobler, the labor will be greater, the journey longer, and the way more complicated and difficult. What is more difficult and refined requires more careful thought, reflection and endeavor to se-

cure growth and completeness. Clear, personal conviction is indispensable to sound faith. No person can believe at will, nor by force, flattery or proxy. Many things are accepted on credit, without examination; and many things we only half believe. By so doing one is often deceived. A Creed accepted without full conviction of its truth, or professed in ignorance, can have no saving power. Doubt demands proof. Reasonable evidence begets faith. Every proposition, like every house, should rest on a solid foundation. Faith is a conviction, the assurance of things not seen. It supplies the lack of knowledge. It guides where we cannot see. We prepare the soil and sow the seed, convinced the harvest will repay the toil. The germination is in the dark, under ground, out of sight, beyond our knowledge. It will not do to be agnostic in practical life. Nourishment is sucked from the earth through fibrous roots, and is forced to the topmost branches by a power unseen. The rays of light, freighted with heat and life, descend from the sun. We know not how or where they combine or divide to form the branch, paint the leaves, color the flowers, and spread life and beauty the wide world over. Since the morning stars sang together the sun has rode forth in his chariot of glory, scattering bounties and beauties everywhere. Neither our knowledge nor our faith set him on the central throne of his vast dominion. We cannot tell him how, where, or when, to shine; nor can our ignorance or unbelief prevent his shining. We know not his substance. We do not know how he forever imparts without consuming, exhaustless in supply without receiving. We rest content in the *faith* that the sun will continue to shine and dispense good and glory everywhere; though thick darkness be sometimes round about us, and doubts arise in timid souls. The world has no need of Creeds of human contrivance to teach and guide, and restrain, and prevent, and show the sun how to shine; or to regulate his course; or to change the immutable laws by which the motions of the earth and sun are governed. Who is qualified to write one? What astronomer is wise enough to undertake to do for science what theologians

have done, or are trying to do, for religion? We walk by faith, not by sight, in the pursuit of objects unseen and blessings desired, whether material, intellectual or spiritual.

The real question is not, whether we must believe and obey to be saved; but whether one man, or one set of men, in one age can rightfully and properly form a Creed for all people in all ages, resting solely on *their* convictions and on *their* authority, without evidence to convince or reason to approve; itself perhaps unreasonable, contradictory, mysterious, and absurd to minds as enlightened, hearts as pure, and souls as sincere as their own. Such Creeds people are not asked to examine, and approve or reject; rarely are they permitted to examine them in the light of reason and revelation, in a way to come to a clear comprehension, except at their peril. They are told time is pressing; delays are dangerous. Hence the unthinking are hurried to accept what they do not understand; scarce knowing what they do. The more considerate and serious ask for explanations, pure and simple. They are told they must not stop to inquire into the meaning of what others ask, almost order, them to believe. They must not reason; they are not capable of judging correctly, safely. Others, wiser and better, have done all that for them. Here is the Creed ready made. They have no need to bother their minds; only accept and be saved. If they still persist in demanding proof to convince before confessing a Creed they cannot understand, they are plied with outside arguments, special pleadings. The great antiquity of the Creed, the high and venerable authority, the vast amount of learning bestowed upon it, the numbers, wealth, splendors, popularity, social relations, political and commercial influence, personal benefits, appeals to the narrowest selfishness, are set before them in most attractive array to entice, the unwary; followed by frowns and threats if there are still signs of hesitation; any thing to ensure a surrender of their honest convictions in submission to a Creed they cannot understand and do not believe, at the dictation of those for whose principles and moral character they have no cause for special respect. To yield is to sur-

render their soul-liberty, to be regained only with utmost difficulty. To the Creed, the name, the sect, the appeal is thenceforth made; not, "To the law and the testimony." They are held "in durance vile" On this strange altar is sacrificed reason, right, freedom, fraternity, equality, manhood and perpetual inheritance God gave them.

What is received in return? The favor of a sect, a right to its name and fellowship. To waver afterwards on the Creed is to be suspected of skepticism and infidelity by all who think within the limits of dogma, or think not at all. No where else in the realm of reason or revelation, right or responsibility, are such restrictions attempted on the freedom of thought, or such impudent assumption of man over his fellowmen. They are plainly traced in bloody lines on the pages of ecclesiastical history, and too frequently seen in the milder manners of sectarians of to-day.

The whole business of Creed-making, Creed-tinkering, heresy-hunting, and silly, simulating or severe trials, in ecclesiastical councils and courts, may be explained and illustrated by a brief reference to the first attempt of Civil Government to intercede and interfere in the affairs of the Christian Church. Without troubling the reader with a full account of the calling, assembling, discussions, and decisions of the General Council, it will suffice our present purpose to state the cause, object, means and result of that first effort to settle religious disputes, establish Christian truth, and secure harmony by majorities and imperial authority by the authorization of a Universal Creed.

Differing opinions on subjects not clearly understood, or foreign to the spirit and intention of Christianity, early obtained among the disciples. Peter was blamed for his departure from the traditions, prejudices and bigotry of the Jewish elders, because he consented to visit a devout Gentile, a good man who feared God and did alms, and desired *more light* and a *better faith*. When he came before the council over which James, the brother of Jesus, presided with more grace and generosity than is always seen in similar councils that have

succeeded it ; having heard the frank statement of his new and more liberal convictions, instead of condemning or suspending him, "glorified God that he had also granted unto the Gentiles repentance unto life." The same council, in like spirit, settled the difference between Peter and Paul, and even commended the latter in his labors among the Gentiles. On the *essential Principles* taught by Jesus, there was no disagreement, nor has there been, nor can there be, among devout and honest Christians, any where at any time. With them the less was not given the greater prominence. The weightier matters of pure religion were not overborne by selfishness, tradition, folly or fashion. They did not look backward, nor off into the dark and inscrutable, but strait forward into the dawning light of the perfect day ; as humble followers of Him who had gone before, "the way, the truth, and the life." Walking in that light they found a safe guide to duty and peace, and to the knowledge and grace of God. As long as they studied the lessons of the Great Teacher, obeyed his commands, followed his examples, and were led by his spirit, "brotherly love continued," and peace and prosperity prevailed. But when men *learned* in the wisdom of the world, and conformed to its fashions, crept unawares into the church, bringing in metaphysical, abstruse and subtle questions, theories and systems, mysteries and traditions ; creeds and rituals, making them standards, which have nothing to do with true piety, right living, and things pertaining to Godliness, not inspiring faith and hope in God ; then discussions, dissensions and contentions arose and differences of opinion became the tests of fellowship, and led to sects and parties and quarrels without end. The warnings of the Apostles were unheeded, and many were "beguiled by enticing words, and spoiled through philosophy and vain deceit after the traditions and rudiments of the world, and not after Christ." Hence the strifes, controversies, alienations, persecutions and untold evils which afflicted the early church, and have continued unto this day.

It was to allay the discords prevailing in the churches, es-

pecially and chiefly in Alexandria, and to secure union, peace and prosperity that Constantine ordered the assembling of the bishops "in a General Council at Nicæa, in Bythinia. A.D., 325." He had recently conquered his brother-in-law, Licinius, who had ruled in the East. He was now supreme in the Roman Empire. Having become a convert to Christianity, like most new converts, he was exceedingly zealous and anxious for the peace and welfare of the church. Instead of love, union and peace, he found discord, contention and faction. A writer of that day says: "One might see in every city bishop against bishop, people against people, and differences ran so high that they were ready to tear one another in pieces." It was in the larger cities and among the *learned*, that the controversies prevailed most fiercely, unchristianly, to the great detriment and disgrace of religion and good order.

It was, perhaps, with good intentions, bad as he was morally, that the Emperor ordered the Council and provided the means of conveyance to it from all parts of his empire. He had previously exhorted the chief disputants, Athanasius and Arius, deacons of Alexander, the metropolitan bishop of Alexandria, to cease their contentions on matters of abstract doctrines. He sent a letter jointly to them by Hosius, bishop of Cordova in Spain, his special favorite and counsellor, who had served him at the council at Arles, held soon after his conversion. In it he wrote: "My advice to you is neither to ask nor answer questions which, instead of being Scriptural, are the mere sport of idleness, or the exercise of ability; at the best keep them to yourselves and do not publish them. You agree in fundamentals," etc. His conciliatory advice did not succeed. He found it easier to conquer nations than to settle theological disputes, even with the shrewd Hosius for his ambassador. Seizing upon his advantage, Athanasius procured a synod of his followers which Hosius and the superannuated Alexander attended, and by it procured the condemnation of Arius. Hosius, on his return, reported to Constantine what had been done and persuaded the calling of a General Council

to settle the two questions then chief in dispute : first, The nature of Jesus and his relation to God ; and second, The time for holding Easter.

Hot in the fervor of these controversies the leaders met at Nicæa. Of bishops some say there were 318, some as many as 2,000, and some say less ; and " of Presbyters and deacons an infinite number " to settle the quarrels among the disciples of the Prince of Peace ! It should be remembered that bishop applied to preachers having charge of a parish or district. These in large cities were regarded, and regarded themselves, as metropolitans. At first James alone was revered as the superior. After the destruction of Jerusalem, Alexandria, as the chief city of learning, assumed to be the head of The Church, and the bishop was called Pope (papa), as the bishop afterwards became to the Latin branch of the church. It should also be remembered that of all the Western bishops not over ten were present, and only Hosius much known ; even the bishop of Rome was not present in person.

After a fulsome speech, such as priests are apt to make to kings, " the emperor cast his eyes round upon the bishops with a kind and careful regard, and collecting himself a little spoke to them with soft and gentle tone without rising from his seat." Among other things he is reported as saying, " The enemies of the church being now vanquished, and there being no person who dared oppose Christians, it is melancholy to see them fighting against each other, and making themselves the jest of their adversaries, who are overjoyed to see them ruin themselves ; that their quarrels were still more shameful in matters of religion, concerning which they had the instruction of the Holy Spirit in the Scriptures. For which reason we ought to banish all controversies ; " good advice for any age of the church. Eusebius says : " He was a witness of the bishops' disputes. He heard them on both sides with a great deal of good temper, being patient and attentive to everything that was said to him ; he sometimes inclined to one side, sometimes to the other, to reconcile by degrees those who appeared most warm in the dispute. He made himself agreeable and

amiable to every body. He prevailed on some by his reason, others he made to blush by the force of his explanations ; he praised those who spoke well, and persuaded all to peace. In short, he did not cease till he had brought them to agree in the same faith and in the same sentiment, touching all points in dispute."

After many days, some say weeks, of hot controversy, it was resolved to settle the question by a "Declaration" which should define the nature of Christ in relation to God and put an end to all discord and secure perpetual peace and harmony in the Church Universal. Then came the most difficult task of all. Who should, who could, write such a Creed ? The emperor counseled them to make one which could be "drawn from the books of the Evangelists and Apostles which should *show plainly* what we ought to believe, for which reason we ought to banish all controversies and collect from the testimonies of these books which are inspired of God the exposition of the controverted points." A Creed was drawn up which all admitted "used no terms but such as were authorized by the Scriptures." It did not satisfy the gnostics and mystics of Egypt. Others were made with no better success. None of them admitted the superiority of Egyptian bishops above all others. They demanded something more subtle and mysterious ; something to sustain their speculative philosophy ; something above the comprehension of common mortals. The simple, plain, positive principles which Jesus taught, explaining his relation to the Father and to mankind and the duties of men to God and to each other, did not secure to them their metropolitan pre-eminence. Like the ancient priests of Egypt they wanted to come out of the sacred Adytum, arrayed in mystery and marvel, pretending oracular wisdom, and commanding reverential assent to whatever they might offer or command. The simplicity of the gospel reasonably explained to reasonable minds did not suit their ambition. They pretended to understand what they could not explain.

After long and severe disputation and much cunning and

cautious engineering, not unlike a modern political caucus, the whole matter was narrowed down to a single word, and to a single letter in that word, and that letter the least letter in the alphabet — *Iota*. Homoiousion — Homöousion. The root of the word signifies, *likeness, resemblance, image, similarity*. All admitted Jesus was like God, “the brightness of his glory, the express image of his person,” the “mediator between God and men,” “the Son of God,” “the Savior of the world. This did not suit the Egyptian mystics; it was too plain; so they dropped the *iota* and claimed Jesus was of the *same substance* with the Father. Hosius and Athanasius drew up a Creed thus: “We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things, both visible and invisible, and in one Lord Jesus Christ,” (so far all were agreed as before written, then added) “begotten of the Father, only begotten, that is to say, of the *same substance* of the Father, God of God, light of light, very God of very God; begotten, not made, being of the same substance with the Father,” etc.

The Creed so made was signed, by some voluntarily, by more for the sake of peace, by others under the threat of banishment, and by some not at all. When it was presented to Constantine, and “that prince considering the *unanimous* consent of *so many* prelates must be the work of heaven, received it with respect, and declared he would banish those who should oppose it.” “Basil calls this Creed the great and invincible Creed. Athanasius says, it is alone sufficient to destroy all heresies. A great council at Rome under Damasus calls it the bulwark opposed to all the efforts of the devil; another council says, it is like a rock, against which all the waves of heresy dash and retire in froth. Hilary says the word *Consubstantial* is the great, and even the only means of securing our religion.”

The second point was settled with little debate by referring it to the astronomers of Egypt to determine annually the true time for holding Easter. The chief attention and feeling centered on the Creed question.

The reader will naturally ask for the result of this long and

bitter discussion and final decision of this famous Council. Did it end, finally, all disputes, and secure the union and harmony for which it was called? The farthest from it possible. It did what most councils have done since, assembled for like purpose; it widened the breach, exasperated the feelings, and hindered the influence of Christianity, all which continue to this day. It did not allay but raised the storm of controversy which became more furious and wide-spread than ever. The Creed so formed and so eulogized, and declared to be "the perfect rule of faith of the Church Universal," was interpreted differently, and many rejected the word *consubstantial* altogether. Athanasius says "the word consubstantial was not expressly in the Scriptures, and that gave a pretense to the Arians for rejecting it." At the Council at Ephesus that word led to a permanent schism. Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, the Eastern capital, where Constantine resided, at the time, and Theognis, bishop of Nicæa, who were accounted leading heretics, were banished in 625, soon after the great council, for interpreting the *word* differently from Hosius. They were recalled three years after, at the dying request of Constantia, the widow of Licinius, and sister of Constantine, who desired of them the consolations of religion. Two years later the Arians were restored to a full possession of the churches, and soon after the Homo-ousions, as they were called, were banished. Athanasius, the chief instigator of the severe proceedings, who had been promoted to the bishopric of Alexandria, was banished to Treves in Gaul; and, though three times restored, finally died in banishment. Hosius had returned, in disgrace, to Spain.

The innumerable Councils held since have generally been called to repair or enlarge the Creed, or denounce some new heresy, or somehow alter and improve "the perfect rule of faith," by interposing some new and stronger barrier against the freedom of thought and speech. By the severance of the Latin from the Greek church, a great gulf was fixed, hitherto impassable. The Greek, Armonian, Nestorian, Maronite, Jacobite, Coptic, Roman, and innumerable Protestant

sects maintain separate organizations on account of Creed differences, and a portion of them receive protection from Moslem and other heathen powers which they often refuse to each other. In Bethlehem, Jerusalem, and some other places several sects of different Creeds worship the one God in the name of the one Lord under the same roof, but never at each other's altar. A page could be filled with the names of sects which followed more fiercely the adoption of the Creed so loudly extolled as "invincible," "alone sufficient to destroy all heresies" and "all the efforts of the devil." The Creed itself has been several times altered. The *filioque* added by the Roman has never been accepted by the Oriental churches, and is the wall of partition between them.

Were it necessary to enter upon an analysis of the Creeds of Christendom, each claiming to be the right and only true and safe one, it would be easy to find in them a sufficient cause for the divisions and distractions existing in the church of God, and preventing its more rapid growth in purity, peace, union and good will. Selfishness, ambition, pride and prejudice, are imbedded in the foundations and permeate the parts of all Creeds, but each man's own!

Who with another's eye can read,
Or worship by another's creed?
Revering God's command alone,
We humbly seek and use our own.

The question of the retention or rejection of ready-made Creeds can best be answered by a knowledge of what they have done and are capable of doing. Mischievous as they have been in fostering pride and exclusiveness; and weak and weakening as they seem to be wherever light and liberty of thought and speech are permitted and wisely employed in the honest search for truth and righteousness, they still exert, unperceived at the time, a strong influence over the religious opinions, feelings and conduct of people; in some stronger than in others. Why else is it that, in all special efforts to revive the work of religion, it is found necessary to keep Creeds carefully out of sight, often disowned, until the gath-

ering into flocks and labeling for the sect, and then but faintly read? Why else are churches so thinly attended where dogmas are so often and severely preached, and theories and systems insisted upon? Why, but for Creeds and names, do people meet and pass with a bare nod when going to worship "the God and Father of all," in the name of the "one Lord of all," who are respectful, friendly and cordial on all other occasions? Why else these continued struggles, appeals and contrivances to raise funds to sustain sectarian schools, and build and sustain churches, where those already built are not half full? Why else these large funds to send missionaries with the proper trade-marks, to convert the heathen? — To what?

In Mexico, a few years since, free toleration was proclaimed. Five sects are there with their separate Creeds, and not much "brotherly love" is wasted between them. M. E. South and M. E. North, Episcopal English and Episcopal American and Presbyterian. The English government compels China to buy opium (£125,000,000) against the earnest remonstrance of the Emperor; but missionaries carry Bibles and prayer-books to save them from their sins. America ships whiskey, guns, powder and missionaries of divers Creeds to convert the heathen to "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God, one Father of all and to the love of their neighbors as themselves." Most Christian nations of many Creeds send missionaries abroad, and maintain large military and naval establishments at home, to help keep peace where churches abound, and the gospel, in all shades, is preached for the instruction and guidance of the people. Wealth, luxury, pride, distinction, ambition, rivalry, vain show, and much parade and pretension, with ease and indolence, are as distinctly seen in churches and in Christian nations, as among the heathen; as common among professors as non-professors. Where is more display of "gay clothing" to be seen than in the processions and at the altars of the high titled dignitaries of *THE Church*, which claims to represent the Man of the seamless coat, who had not where to lay his head. How must He who sits on the throne of perfect Justice, and understands all the imaginations of the

thoughts, look upon the controversies and conduct of bigoted sectarians, contending about *modes* of faith and *forms* of worship to the woful neglect of moral character ; who cultivate not much — certainly not chiefest, “the *fruits* of the spirit, love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance ?” Which is the truer way to reverence and honor Jesus, contending about Creeds, or aspiring to cherish his spirit and keep his commandments ?

It is pleasant, profitable, hopeful to receive a Chunder Sen, or a Mozoomdar from Hindostan, and hear them tell of Jesus and the good principles he taught which his disciples ought to study and put in practice, instead of quarreling about their dogmatic creeds, and peculiar forms. It tells of an inward moving of the spirit, when those of differing Creeds forget their narrowness, and meet, and greet, and eat with a Hindu heathen in a respectful, and almost fraternal manner at a comfortable breakfast. It argues well for the future, if it does not come quite up to the example of him who chose fishermen for his companions and ate with publicans and sinners, rebuking the scribes and pharisees, who, while pretending superior piety, were of the class who condemn and persecute, and prevent the real reformation of the world.

It is told of the beloved disciple, that when in banishment on Patmos, many came to him from the seven churches with complaints, differences of opinion, and subjects in dispute ; his invariable answer was, “Beloved, love one another.” Which of all the Creeds is most willing to heed such advice, and obey Jesus ? Who can contrive and authorize a better rule ?

If it be asked, how Christianity can be sustained and extended without a dogmatic creed ; it should be a sufficient answer to say, on the same principles, in the same spirit, and by the same means and methods Jesus employed, exemplified, and commanded during his ministry among men. “It is enough for the disciple to be as his master, and the servant as his Lord. “If any man (especially preacher), have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his. As many as are led by the

spirit of God, they are the sons of God. If you love not your brother, whom you have seen, how can you love God, whom you have not seen. And this commandment have we from him, that he that loveth God, loveth his brother also." Love, not Creeds, is the fulfilling of the law. Suppose all who have named the name of Jesus had remembered to depart from iniquity, and to love one another, from the beginning, instead of contending about Creeds, what would have been and now be the condition of the Church Universal? Suppose all Christians, regardless of Creed, name, or sectarian affinity, would join sincerely and heartily before God, in a Covenant something like this : —

Accepting the religion of Jesus Christ as a revelation of truth, duty, and destiny, and adopting it as our guide and rule of conduct, we confess ourselves to be his disciples, members of his church; and we do enter into a solemn covenant of fellowship and fraternity, promising to live in love, and in peace and good will towards all men.

Cannot all sincere Christians who love the religion of Jesus more than theories and systems of men, conscientiously join in such a covenant, leaving Creeds, and forms, and names to personal preferences, "having their faith to themselves," but allowing them in no way to interfere with the "operation of the spirit" of love to God and man. What more is needed to unify the church, and save the world? The only name given under heaven among men whereby we must be saved, will then supersede and be preferred to all other names, by all who love God with all their hearts, and Christianity more than self or sect. In due time the white stone and the new name will be given, and be preferable to the mark in the forehead. What else but pride and prejudice, name and Creed, keeps professed Christians in severance, too often making them uncharitable and severe towards each other.

Dark and gloomy as the prospects of Christianity may seem to some, and severe as the attacks of unbelievers may be, there is ground to hope for its deliverance out of the wilderness through which it has long been wandering. Creeds are no longer the proof of actual faith, the tests of character, the measure of social esteem, or the assurance of salvation. No

sectarian is satisfied with another's Creed, nor many careful, honest, reverent thinkers with their own. Recently two national conventions have been held; one of the "Church Universal," the other the "Universal Church." Both have been proposing and discussing amendments in ritual or profession. The latter, for ten years, has been worried over the changing of a single word. A *compromise* was reported by a committee which had it under consideration for years, which the members afterward confessed did not suit any of them; and it was referred back for further consideration. They had no Hosius nor Constantine to strike out the *Iota*. The assurance of hope gains strength from the fact, that no one sect longer thinks to slam the gates of glory in the face of every other Creed, but look with kind and serene regards upon good people of all Creeds, and of no authorized Creed but their own. Prayers go up from every altar — prayers of faith it is hoped — to the one God and Father for the dominance of love, truth, righteousness, purity, peace and salvation in all the earth.

The attacks of infidelity, bold and resolute, do not harm Christianity, but rather strengthen it, and make it more vigorous. They show professors their faults, and the cause of their failures, and awaken them to see and move them to purge away the perversions and corruptions which have crept into the ministry and the churches, leading them to put pretension for reality, as if to deceive the people. From such conditions Christianity must be delivered, by a genuine and thorough reformation from dead works to a living faith. Christians must "walk worthy of the vocation wherewith they are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love; endeavoring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace; that they of the contrary part may be ashamed, having no evil thing to say of them." A corrupt church, ministers or members, can never bless the world, or spiritually prosper. The greatest enemy of Christianity, is, and ever has been, nursed in the bosom of the church itself. It is the *manner* of dogmatic

teaching and sectarian living, and not, in the *matter* of truth and righteousness, as taught by the Master, that has hindered its progress and delayed its triumph. "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine." Fidelity to God, conscience, and the law of love, are far more essential and efficacious than a tame assent to Creeds not understood, the doctrines and commandments of men, and conformity to the traditions and formalities, substituted for devout obedience to God and reverence for the teachings of Jesus Christ.

The leaven is in the meal. Many are running to and fro, and knowledge is increasing. Men and women are coming to see and acknowledge their true relations, duties, dependencies, and responsibilities, and to assert their rights. Names of Creeds may be still seen on church and college walls; they are so faded by the light of God, that they are little read and less cared for. Nations, like sects, are looking over boundary lines with more generous regards. Kings and councillors meet and talk of reducing armies, and as fast as they dare, do it. Conquerors are no longer the great men, most fit to rule in civil governments. Swords are rusting in their scabbards, and spears are curiosities in museums. Pity schools should be kept to teach young men how to kill each other scientifically, or to preach the everlasting gospel by human Creeds. Kindness lives in humanity. Electric lights are sparkling through the darkness. Truth dominates error, virtue vice, principle policy, at least in thought and desire, and goodness must prevail. Creeds and platforms are disappearing before the coming day; when liberty, equality, fraternity shall prevail the wide world over. The Lord God omnipotent reigneth; let the earth rejoice.

Theories which thousands cherish
Pass like clouds that sweep the sky;
Creeds and dogmas all must perish;
Truth herself can never die!

Rev. W. S. Balch.

ARTICLE XII.

The Gospel of Perdition According to Joseph Cook.

One day not long since, while looking along my shelves for a book with which to make an hour profitable, my eye was caught by a volume among a series, its title being "Boston Monday Lectures, by Joseph Cook — Orthodoxy." It contains the author's course of lectures during the winter of 1877-8. The book has gone somewhat into obscurity, but is still as aggressive and able a book in the interest of what Mr. Cook is pleased to call "Calvinistalistic Orthodoxy," or "Improved Calvinism," as has come within the range of my knowledge.

During the time these lectures were being delivered I was on terms of friendly acquaintance with Mr. Cook. In several private discussions I held with him on theological questions, I learned somewhat of the inside view of modern Orthodoxy. In those days I respected him as a man of conviction who tried conscientiously to do an opponent justice. I have still an admiration for his marked forensic abilities, but concerning his candor my opinion has undergone some modification.

I open the book at page 29 — a page I easily remember. I read for the fiftieth time this ponderous sentence:

"The failure to attain predominant love of what God loves and hate of what God hates is perdition."

It is his definition of perdition. How came that sentence to be made? It came by growth, and no one save its author knows better than myself the process of its growth. In fact, I can, in a partial sense, claim to be its author. If Joseph Cook evolved it, I helped to develop it.

Some personal reminiscences are now in order. It fell to my lot to report one of his lectures for the *Springfield Republican*, and agreeably to an understanding I submitted to Mr. Cook my report. In reading it from my manuscript he came to these words (which I now take exactly from the printed record): "My definition of eternal punishment is that it is

the loss of even the desire to be holy." "Let me look at that," said Mr. Cook. After reflecting on it some moments in silence he said, "I will stand by that statment." Hence it became his authorized definition of eternal punishment. Some days afterwards, when walking with him on the common, he said, "Why did you look so amused; the other day at my definition of perdition?" I replied, as I remember, that while the doctrine of endless punishment was to me to the last degree objectionable, this definition made it objectionable for altogether a new reason. The desire to be holy, I said, is a phrase which must mean conscience, and when one loses his desire to be holy he simply loses his conscience. That would make hell a very easy place. Yonder, at the North End, I said, you may see a condition of life I call perdition; and what makes it dreadful if it be not conscience protesting against sin? Take the desire to be holy out of the sinner and the inferno becomes his paradise. Hence your definition of perdition, I said, is too soft for my Universalist faith. Here the subject for the time dropped. In a Monday Lecture soon after, however, he gave this improved version of his definition (which I also quote from the printed report I have preserved): "I define perdition to be the final loss of the predominant desire to be holy." The definition has now grown by the addition of the word predominant. "There may be," says Mr. Cook, "subsidiary desires for holiness in the lost; but these are for their torment. Their controlling desire for holiness they have finally lost." I reviewed this lecture of Mr. Cook in a newspaper article, and without laying much stress on the matter in the course of my article I said: "By the way, we would like to ask Mr. Cook if he has not given a definition of perdition which involves him in a contradiction with his theology, by making perdition after all rather a small affair. 'The final *loss* of the predominant desire for holiness.' Of course one cannot lose what he has never possessed. According to this definition, therefore, one must have been in a saved state in order to be in a lost state — perdition can come only to backsliding Christians." Some weeks after this I was in Mr.

Cook's study on Beacon Hill. He was revising his lectures for the press. He turned to the lecture which had been the subject of my review, and on finding the sentence I had thus criticised, he said, "You are very hard to suit, but see if you can find any flaw in this definition of perdition which I propose to put into my book." He then read to me his thrice amended definition in the precise words, as I recall them, now found on the 29th page of his volume entitled *Orthodoxy*: "*The failure to attain predominant love of what God loves and hate of what God hates is perdition.*" What is your objection to that? he asked. My objections, I told him, were fundamental and radical.

This is the process by which the definition grew. Mr. Cook evolved it, but I suppose he would acknowledge that I had some part in its development.

I propose now to state my fundamental and radical objections to Mr. Cook's doctrine of perdition.

The general doctrine implied by this definition may be thus stated: Sinful human beings are in a lost state, — failure to attain to Godlikeness in this world (where alone probation in the strict sense is possible) will under the natural law of the self-propagating power of evil, incur a remediless doom in the world to come, so that at death the lost soul has made its final and irreversible choice of evil.

Mr. Cook acknowledges that no alleged Bible doctrine can stand except it be reasonable. His constant appeal is to the test of the scientific method. A particular merit in the scientific method is that it makes a distinction between assumptions unproved and assured facts.

It is at the bar of reason I would test Mr. Cook's doctrine of perdition, and I am glad to have it stated in what Mr. Cook regards — or, at least, some years ago regarded — as a flawless proposition.

In the meaning he gives to his definition I disagree with all its assumptions. There is one of the assumptions, however, with which my disagreement is only partial. It is beyond denial, I think, that sinners are in a lost state. I should, no

doubt, define the lost state, however, especially as to its beginnings, differently from Mr. Cook. But I will raise no issue here. I assume that we should agree in this, that sin, being a transgression of God's law, is a forfeiture of God's favor and justly deserving his penalties.

Four other assumptions implied in Mr. Cook's definition of perdition are these :

1st. That sin is in its nature immortal.

2d. That death is a calamity to a sinful soul.

3d. That beyond death, for the soul dying sinful, is an absolutely endless doom.

4th. That good is not in its nature an eternally aggressive power in the universe.

To all which, with thorough conviction, I offer denial.

I. Mr. Cook bases the proposition that sin is in its nature immortal on what he styles "the self-propagating power of evil." He affirms that evil character tends to permanence through the persistency of habit ; that sin induces an increasing deadness of conscience, hence a growing moral deadness ; that the will, under the rule of a predominant evil love, is continually being weakened for effective repentance or choice of good ; hence, that evil, by its own self-propagating power, becomes permanent, or in other words is immortal.

Will this assumption stand the test of a scientific examination ?

That there is, in the surface view of some of the visible tendencies of human life, a show of support for this proposition, I do not hesitate to acknowledge. But that the absolute immortality of evil can be scientifically predicated of these present and partial tendencies, ought not to be hastily assumed. Such a proposition must be based, if it can be made to stand at all, on an analysis of all the basal facts of our experience, or within the scope of our knowledge.

I agree with Mr. Cook, as I understand him, that the desire for holiness in the human soul is innate. I agree with him that, though it may not be in all souls a predominant love, it is indestructible. Can this, in faithfulness to human na-

ture, be said of evil? Is the soul's love for evil innate? Is it indestructible? Is it true that, while the love of evil can be completely destroyed in a soul, the love of good never can be destroyed, not even in the Dantean abysses?

It is not to be denied that the love of evil may be so strong in a soul that it may be designated as the soul's second nature. This is, however, widely different from the proposition that the love of evil is innate — that the original structure of human nature, conceived in its primal integrity, has in it the faculty of evil love. Not even the unmodified Calvinistic doctrine of total depravity quite says this. The fact that the desire for evil can be eradicated from human nature, and has been in saintly lives, and the fact that the love of good cannot be eradicated from a human soul — a fact Mr. Cook changed his definition of perdition on purpose to recognize — are premises from which the unnaturalness of evil may be logically deduced.

How can endless continuance be logically affirmed of any unnatural thing? Not to press the argument too strongly, does not a natural, indestructible desire of the soul prophesy its own final predominance, more truly than a desire which, however powerful for the time, is confessedly contrary to nature, can prophesy its final predominance?

It is a fact of human experience recognized by Mr. Cook in his definition, that no one can ever find content in sin. The conscience may be dulled and hardened, but never destroyed. Sin, therefore, necessarily tends to unrest and discontent. Nero committed suicide; Lady Macbeth, Mr. Cook's familiar, was not apparently very happy while looking at the crimson stains on her hands which the waters of the ocean could not wash out. The logical moral is that the sinner is at warfare with himself. Truly the innate love of good — the "subsidiary" yet indestructible desire for holiness — is no insignificant factor in this problem of finalities. In its actual workings it prophesies predominance, because no one can ever find rest or content, or a final state, in warfare against it.

I hope I do not underrate the significance of the fact of the

persistence of evil habits. But, within the range of our experience, we know nothing of the final persistence of any evil habit. Every creed in Christendom, save pure Calvinism, says the vilest sinner may effectively repent any day or moment this side of death. Prodigals actually do repent, even after they have become morally companionable with swine. It is altogether gratuitous, therefore, to assume from any thing we know of human experience that evil, in any life, tends to permanence.

I see nothing in sin, or in the experience of sin, which, in itself considered, necessitates the belief that it will always continue. Evil carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. "The natural penalty of sin," says Phillips Brooks, "is repentance." Mr. Cook often quotes Herbert Spencer in the saying that the soul can never be at peace unless harmonized with its environment. Why does he not do justice to Herbert Spencer by quoting his entire proposition, which is, that good is the natural, hence the permanent in the universe; that evil is unnatural, hence evanescent, and destined to ultimate disappearance? Arthur Fuller read the world's history correctly when he said, "Nothing is finally settled which is not settled right." The destiny of no soul can be finally settled till it is settled right — till it is harmonized with itself and its environment.

I by no means exhaust my reasons for demurring from Mr. Cook's assumption of the immortality of evil. My reading of history, including that of some buried nations, has confirmed me in the belief that evil carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. But not longer to delay on this part of my argument, I claim that it is, at least, an open question whether evil, *in itself considered*, tends to permanence. A larger analysis of human nature and experience suggests that the destiny of evil is not immortality but extinction.

II. Mr. Cook's assumption in his definition that death is a misfortune to a sinful soul, is altogether too stupendous a proposition to rest on slight or doubtful proofs. It should rest on definite and irresistible support.

The question is not now what does Calvinistic orthodoxy teach. It is not what the Bible teaches. I do not claim to be technically orthodox ; but I do not think myself unbiblical in believing that death is gain : a sowing in corruption, a rising in incorruption ; the change from a natural body to a spiritual body ; the mortal being clothed upon with immortality. Nevertheless, the query is not whether Calvinistic orthodoxy teaches that death is a natural calamity to the sinful soul—it is unquestioned that it does so teach ; nor is it whether the Bible teaches this doctrine. Let it be acknowledged that Mr. Cook and his school think that they read that doctrine in the Bible ; I am completely convinced that I read an entirely different doctrine. Our test is reasonableness, by the scientific method ; a test Mr. Cook professedly welcomes for the Bible itself.

What natural reason is there for the proposition that death will lessen the moral power of any soul ? What is there in the nature of death — the change from the natural to the spiritual — which would even suggest that its experience will decrease the moral power of any soul ? Does Mr. Cook offer any scientific proof of the assumed fact ? I can recall none whatever. He has, it seems to me, vitiated his scientific argument by his appeal at this pivotal point to traditional proof-texts — which in my view are twisted from their true purport when offered as his Scriptural support, for every one of these passages has been explained by eminent Orthodox commentators in a sense radically different from that which Mr. Cook ascribes to them. This breaking of the “ laws of the game,” by appealing in a scientific argument to traditionally interpreted proof-texts, appears to me a confession of conscious weakness. While Mr. Cook in my view makes a miserable failure of his exegesis, it is no less a failure in his argument for him to attempt exegesis at all.

What does science teach in regard to death ? I limit the question to the immediate application. I do not raise the question whether science teaches that there will be a survival of soul-life beyond the dissolution of the body. I think it

does—but do not think even this so clearly as to make a strictly scientific faith in immortality altogether confident. It is scientifically demonstrable, however, that in death we are done with our material bodies. They go back to the dust; the spirit, if so be the spirit continue to live, is emancipated from its material weight. What scientific reason is there for the assumption that in “the article of death” there is any permanent lessening of spiritual power or resource? Such limitations and temptations as pertain to a material body exclusively, cannot be possible in the spiritual body one instant beyond death. All analogies of experience suggest, if they do not in fact prove, that there will be an immediate increase of spiritual knowledge in the soul emerging from death, and correspondingly stronger appeals to its heavenward aspirations. This occasion of spiritual knowledge may be a means of divine judgment; but from my point of view this can be no evil, for divine punishments are corrective. Because death must be complete deliverance of the soul from its degrading besetments in this world, it must be an introduction to a condition favorable, rather than unfavorable, to repentance and salvation. The sequences of sin, as I think, will extend into that world. But I know no sound reason for the assumption that repentance beyond death is impossible or improbable. It seems to me altogether contrary to scientific analogies, and an altogether gratuitous and illogical inference from Scriptural teaching, to say that what we call death is, under divine appointment, a calamity to any immortal soul.

III. We come now to the third assumption in Mr. Cook's definition of perdition, namely, that for the soul dying in sin the doom is absolutely endless. Let us endeavor to understand what this proposition means. I have tried by various mental processes to form a conception of endlessness; but I can go only a little way before the thought transcends my powers of comprehension. The abstract idea becomes plain to us only in illustrative applications. Here is one of many I have used. It was a surprise to me, some time since, to hear it mathematically demonstrated that the cloth woven by

the looms of America in one year, if it were in a continuous web, "would circle the globe thirty-nine times, with some thousands of miles to spare." It takes no little time to imagine such a web of cloth, nearly a million miles in length. Imagine on this web a line of closely written numerals, the first six inches of which will exhaust our multiples of millions, billions, quintillions and nonillions; the next six inches utterly transcending the computing power of our most patient thought. Imagine this line of figures extending to the end of the web, and that every unit of the total stands for a year. It is a mathematical calculation to stagger the strongest mind. Yet it gives no adequate symbolization of endlessness in time. When such a period shall have passed, and shall be repeated, the end will be no nearer. Not so much as a moment's progress will have been made toward the end of endlessness.

When Mr. Cook, therefore, with polemic enthusiasm and even apparent enjoyment, asserts and claims to prove that all souls passing the moment of death unrepentant will be fixed in evil endlessly — absolutely fixed, beyond remedy however remote; and when I see a great audience listen with satisfaction, and hear it applaud with fervor, — what must I think? Does Mr. Cook realize what he says? Do the smiling people realize what they hear? If they did, even in the case of one lost soul, for the credit of human nature I must believe that instead of the exultant applause which greeted the lecturer in his oratorical periods, there would have been such a wail in Tremont Temple as would have filled all Boston with horror.

Yet how easy it seems for the genuine Andoverites to continue to assert the condemnation of guilty souls to endless punishment. These doctrinaires tell us that after the finalities of destiny have all been reached — after the human race is at an end on the earth, after such a period as we have vainly tried to picture shall have elapsed, after God's plan in the universe shall have been brought to its complete consummation, — the lost will continue to remedilessly suffer. Why? Because at the moment of death they had not attained to pre-

dominant love of what God loves and hate of what God hates. But to what moral end, for what justifiable purpose? That God's majesty may be vindicated!

This assumption is more than unreasonable: it is shocking to the moral sense.

IV. The fourth implied assumption in Mr. Cook's definition is that good is not an eternally aggressive power in the universe.

Evil, according to this theory, is self-propagating; it has no power in itself to cure itself; therefore, it will endlessly continue. Even if the premises be admitted — and one of the premises, namely, that evil has no tendency in itself to cure, that is, destroy itself, is, I think, clearly disproved—admitting the premises, the conclusion does not follow. The tendency of evil might, in that case be to endlessness, but the influence of counter tendencies must be taken into the account before the conclusion is drawn. The tendency of slavery in itself is to continuance; but the counter-tendency to liberty is a factor in all true prophecy. One might in the night say darkness is self-propagating, with no power in itself to work its own cure, and, therefore, night must be endless. But the sun is a factor to be taken into such a problem. The rising sun in itself, settles the question of the endless continuance of night. So, as I think, the aggressive nature of good deserves consideration in any theory of the destiny of evil.

Two things Mr. Cook and his school must believe, in order to be consistent: First, that God can be reconciled to the endless continuance of evil in his universe. Second, that saved souls in heaven are rendered powerless to save the lost.

Each to me is a dreadful thought.

Will it be said that God can never be reconciled to evil, and hence will punish it without end? It is a makeshift of speech. One of two things must be, if evil is to continue forever. God will be either reconciled to it, or he will be unreconciled to it. To say that God is to be reconciled to evil is equivalent to saying there is no God. To say that he will be unreconciled to it, yet suffer its endless continuance, is to say he cannot do

his will. To conceive of God being reconciled to his own eternal unreconciliation is self-contradiction. In either case, what a conception of God ! As well conceive an opaque ball in the sky to be the sun. A dark sun is no more an anomaly than a God not an aggressive force against evil. The objection to Mr. Cook's assumption is serious ; to me his assumption is essentially atheistic. It involves either a God powerless to cure evil or capable of reconciliation to its presence in the universe. Either is a denial of the " eternal not ourselves which makes for righteousness."

The other postulate of this theory is, that the saved in heaven are rendered powerless to save the lost. Is the desire to save the lost to be taken out of redeemed souls ? Are they to become pitiless toward those who are to suffer a remediless doom ? If this be so, let *such* a heavenly life be given to those who covet it, — let me be spared from its experience. Or are the saved souls to know sympathy and pity, such as Jesus showed to sinners in this world, and yet be forbidden to endeavor to bring lost souls to repentance ? What kind of a heaven in that case will be theirs ? Will not moans rather than hallelujahs be the music ? Can God so blight the better natures of his redeemed children ? If he can, is he God ? If he does, is there any true heaven for which to hope ?

Unutterably serious have my objections to Mr. Cook's doctrine grown. His doctrine logically denies my faith in God ; if I were compelled to accept it, it would destroy my hope of heaven.

At every point I proffer my objections to Mr. Cook's definition of perdition. I cannot agree with him that the nature of evil prophesies its immortality ; that the divine appointment of death is a real calamity to any soul ; that, beyond death, any child of the Father will be a victim of the inconceivable doom of endless suffering : I cannot agree with him that God is not an eternally aggressive force against evil for righteousness.

With courtesy indicative of candor Mr. Cook changed the face of his definition to fence it against minor objections. Will

he not now, in a revival of his former candor, do himself an unspeakable favor, and Christian thought a signal justice, by dismissing his whole definition as a radical misconception?

Rev. O. F. Safford.

ARTICLE XIII.

The Rising of the Greek Theology.

The end of the Middle Ages and the rise of modern civilization were due to no one cause. Columbus gave a new world to Europe and its wonders stimulated thought and aroused activity. The invention of movable types served to place the thoughts of the wisest into the hands of the poorest. The insufficiency of the feudal system, the growth of the free towns, the decay of chivalry, the development of patriotism, and the need of a centralization of authority, made order and rule the more desirable. The world was beginning to wake from sleep and its fantastic dreams to fade in the morning light. The giant was stirring. But his limbs were fettered by the authority of the church. There were but few paths for ambition. One could adopt the rude profession of arms and rise by brute strength and courage. Or he could enter the church and find some food for his mind. All other avenues to mental achievement were simply non-existent. Yet even in the church the feet were hobbled by authority and injury could not advance with bold and free stride. The great discoveries were rousing the mind, it began to search for food on which to flesh its coming appetite, food which would also foster its growth. The thrice chopped straw of scholastic metaphysics had lost its nutriment. At this juncture the Greek Empire fell under the blows of the Turks. The Greeks, snatching a few of the treasures of ancient Greek literature, fled with them to the western world. Again a new world was given to Europe. Scholars hastened to enter this new

world of thought with as keen avidity as did adventurers follow in the wake of the ships of Columbus to America. A new Greek manuscript was the greatest treasure. To be able to read Greek and to interpret its thought was a passport to fame and honor. Other studies were laid aside that men might study Greek, might enter this new world, might be able to read the New Testament in the original. As the knowledge of these intellectual and literary treasures spread, intellectual vigor was aroused, food was given to the mind, man broke the shackles of scholastic authority, and the end of the enthrallment of mind was coming. The knowledge of the Greek classics was a new birth to the mind of man.

In these latter days a tolerably close parallel can be found to this historical fact. There is another renaissance. The scientific truths and theories of to-day vastly extend our ideas of the material creation and our conception of the power and wisdom of the Creator. Astronomy no longer timidly skirts the shores of the world but boldly and confidently sails into the illimitable seas of space and time. It goes back, through the dim ages of the past until the mental vision fails and the wing of imagination tires in its flight. In theory it sees the growth of the universe from the star dust in those remote ages and spaces, whose distance from us is so great that we have no unit of measure wherewith to compute it. It resolves the nebulae into stars, and then analyzes the light of these bodies quivering on the boundaries of space. The theory of evolution; the researches of the biologists; the labors of students in the history of the race as evidenced in its various languages, religions, customs and folk-lore; — these have all been added to our stock of knowledge, and they have broadened human conceptions to a wonderful degree. The discoveries of Columbus, the religious truth of Luther, the rising of the idea of freedom in the Middle Ages did not stir the mind more or broaden its conceptions more than have the scientific discoveries of the last century stirred the mind of to-day and extended its vision. When we add to these things the wonderful industrial inventions, the giant strides that commerce has taken through their

aid the knowledge of other peoples that have come to us through our missionary and commercial operations, then again, is the knowledge of the powers of the human mind increased and we have for the first time a demonstration of the truth of the unity of the race.

But all this time the burden of a mediæval theology has been borne by the race. Calvinism with its cruel and pharisaical doctrine of the election of a few and the damnation of the rest which makes human life an anxious attempt to escape the inherited doom, an attempt foreordained to failure for many; which proclaims a mechanical atonement, a conventional piety, a distant and unlovely God, a dead and vanished Christ, and a ruined humanity—these dogmas are a survival of the mediæval theology in the midst of the breadth of mind and enlightenment of the nineteenth century. They are as incongruous to-day as would be the monstrous Saurians of the Cretaceous age among the mammalia of to-day, or as the cumbrous feudal forms would be in a representative democracy. The mind and heart of man, broadened and ennobled by all these discoveries, strains at the bonds that a narrow theology places upon them. The old theology is unsuited to the knowledge of to-day. It is cruel, narrow, and unscientific; while humanity to-day is tender, broad, and scientific. This incongruity has divorced the thought of to-day from theology and religion. Many minds have been forced into scepticism, into agnosticism, and some into bold antagonism to all theology and revealed religion. Liberal Christianity has done, and is doing, much to relieve this strain, to destroy this incongruity, for it marches with equal pace with the advancement of human knowledge and the enlightenment of the mind. But owing to the consequences of past conflicts between Orthodoxy and Liberal Christianity, consequences found in the prejudices of to-day, Liberal Christianity has not made that impression on the mass of Orthodox theology and its believers which its truth merits. At the same time the religious world is stirring and striving and straining against these bonds of an incongruous theology. It feels, if it does not see, how

unsuited it is to the thought of to-day. It seeks to hold to the form of the dogma, while it changes entirely its contents. It would be glad to accept the Liberal theology if it should come from some other source than from these despised sects against which it has fought. It does not wish to adopt the thoughts of its enemies. And Liberal Christianity is not yet strong enough, like the Romans, to impose its own ideas on realms it has conquered. Where shall authority be found for changing the contents of the dogma?

This is found in the Greek Theology. As the discovery of the Greek literature gave food to the growing mind of the Middle Ages, so the theology of the Greek Fathers seems to be able to give food to the theological mind of to-day. For the spirit of Greek theology is suited to the needs of to-day and expands with the needs of all future thought. It is a spiritual theology and is in direct opposition to the mechanical and legal theories of the Latin and modern Orthodox theology.

It is our purpose in this paper to direct the thought of our theologians to this field of enterprise. It has rewarded the search of many scholars. The *Ancient History of Universalism*, *The Church of the First Three Centuries* by Dr. Lamson, Dr. Beecher's *Scriptural Doctrine of Retribution*, and similar works owe much of their interest to researches in this field. But very few works with which we are acquainted consider the contrast between the fundamental ideas of the Greek and Latin theologies. Among those that have come under our notice is an essay entitled, "The Two Religions," in Dr. Hedge's *Ways of the Spirit*. Dr. Mulford's "Republic of God" is the Greek theology come to the world again. But the most notable publication on this subject is the "Theological Renaissance of the Nineteenth Century," found in the *Princeton Review* of November, 1882, and January, 1883. In these articles the contrast between the spiritual Greek and the legal Latin theologies is clearly and forcibly drawn. It is to invite attention to this contrast, to show that the spirit of the Greek theology is what is needed to-day to burst the bonds of mediæval the-

ology and destroy the incongruity that exists between Orthodoxy and the thought of the nineteenth century, that we introduce to the readers of the *QUARTERLY* an extract from Prof. Allen's article :

"The idea of God, as seen in the earlier Greek theology, is that of a being whose presence pervades the world, and with whose essential nature man has a constitutional kinship or relation. In the Western Church of the third century, represented by Tertullian and Cyprian, the idea of God was that of a being apart from the world, governing it from a distance, and communicating with it through agencies which had no essential connection with Him beyond His formal and arbitrary appointment. If we compare the two theologies which grew out of such widely differing motives, we shall see at once how on every point they reflect the divergence of their origin. The Greeks conceived God as pure spirit, and aimed to keep their ideal free from the grosser conceptions of anthropomorphism ; while the Latins, notably Tertullian, thought of God as existing in a human form. With the Greeks revelation in its larger aspects was not limited to the Christian and Jewish dispensations, but all truth, wherever found, was held as coming from God, and even heathen philosophers, inspired by Him, had, in their own way and place, contributed to the preparation for Christianity which constituted the fulness of time. Revelation was, therefore, a living process, superintended by a divine and ever-present teacher, who spoke to men made in the Divine image and constituted for truth, while human reason, conscience, and experience, were the ordained channels for its reception.

"Among the Latins philosophy and human reason were regarded with distrust, as sources of heresy, and revelation became a mechanical method of communication, more particularly defined as a deposit embodied in a rule of faith, whose integrity was guaranteed by bishops in apostolic descent. According to Greek theology, the Logos, the Divine Word, in whose image man was made, had always been present in human history, and thus foreshadowed the incarnation of the Divine in the human, when God should be manifest in the flesh in all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. With the Latins his coming had been as abrupt as his departure had been complete, and, instead of a present Christ still guiding the education of human souls, was a last will and testament,

of which the episcopate was the executor and administrator. In the Greek theology man's position, here or hereafter, was necessarily conditioned by his moral state: with the Latins it did not seem unreasonable that Divine decrees proceeding from an absolute sovereign, should operate to fix the condition of man, apart from all moral considerations. . . . With the Greeks the Church represented humanity in its ideal state, a body whose limits could not be defined; the sacraments were symbols of that eternal life in Christ which God was always giving to men; the resurrection was the standing up again in life of those who had left the tenement of flesh. The Latin Church identified the visible organization with the body of Christ; the sacraments took on a magical character, and, ceasing to be symbols of a process, became the exclusive channels through which Divine grace was mediated to man; and the resurrection of the body was interpreted as the rising again out of the grave of the same body which had been decomposed and seen corruption. Eternal life was regarded by the Greeks as consisting in an ethical and spiritual relationship with God; as, in the words of St. John, 'This is life eternal, to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent'; and the loss of this knowledge, in which was life, constituted eternal death. To the Latin mind eternal life became a synonym for endless duration of existence in a state of bliss, and its converse became also the endless duration of existence in a state of misery. It is doubtful whether any of the Greek Fathers before the middle of the fifth century accepted what has been known in Latin theology as the doctrine of endless punishment."

From these extracts, which are a fair sample of the conclusions reached in these articles, it can easily be seen that this is a fruitful field that will repay the diligent working of our scholars. It can also be easily seen that the Universalist Church is a revival of the earliest Christian theology, before it was corrupted by the coarse ideas of the barbarians.

Rev. T. C. Druley.

ARTICLE XIV.

Methodism as a Sensation.

WITH the approach of the centennial General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the discussion of proposed changes, a renewed interest is felt in that body of Christians. Methodism has been the religious sensation of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and for this time the chief religious force; and a great question for the Church Universal is whether it can continue so for another century; and, if not, what is to be the next sensation? Some great agitation must ever stir the people to keep them as a whole interested in religion. Great movements each cause an intense interest; and no movement is greater than the gathering of a new generation into religion. Organization can do much for this, and the Roman and other churches are gathering, or rather keeping, those born within their folds, while a certain class of religiously inclined (who scarcely need a religion) also do something to keep up a continuity in the stream of Christianity. But these sources will furnish but a sickly current unless some sensational movement sweep in the masses. This movement in Protestant Christianity has been, for a century and a half, Methodism; and Methodism seems the only adequate movement for the future; although for such adequacy certain changes seem necessary.

There are obvious reasons why Methodism should have succeeded as a two-century sensation. Not considering now the truths and benefits involved, except as incidentally implied in the fact of its success, we find Methodism offering several remarkable agencies for getting up and keeping up a profound religious interest.

The revival, with which its name is almost synonymous, is the chief of these. With its intense excitement and sensational scenes — shouting, loud praying, and other startling noises — the revival must ever arrest attention, especially among the lower and least interested classes. Those who

cannot see a theological distinction can yet hear a shout ; and those who will not give attention to religion will stop to look at an excited assembly. Men ever rush where deep feeling is manifested, and, as sympathy is contagious, many who go for the amusement are drawn into the interest.

The lively singing, also, of new and changing tunes, made stirring by direct personal application, has had, in connection with the revivals mentioned, a great drawing and holding power. Methodism has sung its way to success. Teaching Christianity to sing in popular airs, it has taught all the world to sing in religious airs ; and songs sung in such great volume became part of the people's life. Methodism rescued music from the few, and set it, like every other interest, in democratic relations. It made the songs of the world, which has been pronounced a greater achievement than to make the laws ; and it has received the harvest of those songs. Stamping Christianity as a singing religion, it transferred it largely from old and wise heads to children and the common masses, where it could spread with uninterrupted rapidity.

The vigorous preaching of Methodism, stirring, loud and excited, filled with personal and experimental anecdotes, also contributed largely to its success as a sensation. Equal to stump oratory or the popular lecture in interest, it attracted attention as an entertainment from those who cared nothing for it as a service. Methodism got a hearing which other religions did not. It bombarded the ears of the world, and compelled the nineteenth century to listen. For the first time men heard preaching as an amusement, and learned to need it as a gratification ; and in time the appeal to curiosity was felt in the conscience.

The bringing of the whole people into activity in religious service as never before, also contributed to give Methodism a sensational impulse. Instead of one man — the priest, or preacher — doing all, and the rest being quiet listeners, or only occasionally heard in perfunctory ritual, the entire congregation participated, from the man who could only say "Amen" to the exhorter who occasionally took the pulpit.

In its class-meetings Methodism taught all Christians to speak ; and every one became a preacher in some sense. It opened the religious mouth, long closed by the padlocks of sanctity put by ecclesiasticism upon the masses. Destroying the monopoly of the pulpit, it popularized religious speech, and raising up special classes of lay preachers, it doubled the ministry. Wiping away the distinctions between the clergy, it levelled the hierarchy and gave a republican equality to the Church. Making Christianity a speaking religion, it popularized sacred thought, and brought the themes of the pulpit down to the masses. Though suffering somewhat in depth and dignity, these soon flew from mouth to mouth, like gossip, and became familiarized, like politics. In the revival every man talked, and men and women went back and forth soliciting sinners to a Christian life. The Church became tongues instead of ears ; and the Pentecost story received a modern version. A church all ministry instead of chiefly laity, all active instead of chiefly passive, it became a religious army in which all were officers, and exhibited a life never before known. In family worship, in " saying grace," and in many other semi-public devotions, the people accustomed themselves to work at religion from habit, and piety became easy to the masses as a custom. The poor and untutored, who before dared not open their lips in public, now became teachers, expounding the Bible and offering prayers. Every family became a miniature church, erecting its altar, and restoring the Penates. The father, mother, sons and daughters took turns at the prayers, and religion was brought out of the church into the home. To pray and exhort, and even to preach, was as much an individual matter as to believe, and universality was stamped on Christianity. Methodism was religion popularized, and the church individualized. Each man became a whole church — bishop, priest, and congregation, — all in himself. He was religion and its institutions embodied, and exhibited the form which Christianity had to take in order to work out into the intense individualism of the present.

Methodism also gave men something to do in morality, as

well as in religion. Stamping its adherents as a peculiar people in conduct, it advertised them to all the world as Methodists. Putting them in a social class of their own, it knit them together in their meetings and church-work. Prescribing marked customs, it even modified their appearance. Its women wore garments known as Methodist dress, discarded flowers and jewelry, and took to Puritan plainness from choice. The men lived in primitive severity, and gave an impulse to economy and unambitious satisfaction. All became severely scrupulous, and guarded with great energy against the smallest wrongs. Renouncing, as they thought, the whole world for Christ, they gave up much innocent as well as harmful amusement. Abandoning theatres, dances, and fashionable sports, they became separated from the rest of mankind, and appeared peculiar as men, women and children. Making a wide difference between a Christian and a sinner, and drawing a sharp line between the good and the bad, they put a visible mark on the "converted"; and he who became a Methodist felt that he had undertaken a new life. Religion was to him a "profession," and was to be his "calling" for life. His business had frequently to be changed, like his pleasures. If a liquor-seller, jeweler, or actor, or if employed by such, he had to seek other occupation. His new morality was a great task in many respects, and he had to do much to adjust himself to it.

So much doing in religion always counts. Sacrifice commits men. Feeling that there was something to do in their religion, they went from working in it to working for it. Impressed with its importance in themselves, they sought to extend it to others, and, developing a denominational spirit, advanced its interest with a feeling of rivalry. Each convert counting a new life, as well as a soul saved, was thought to help toward a state in which Methodist customs should prevail.

The doctrine and experience known as the "witness of the Spirit," also gave great interest to religion. In Methodist revivals everybody was after something, and knew when he

got it. He had not to take his religion on faith, and be uncertain whether he had it. He did not, like others, seek attainments so shadowy as to be hardly perceptible, but he got something which made him intensely conscious of its presence, and whose loss he tragically felt as a "fall." It was so sure that he knew the date of its arrival, and so powerful that he often shouted on receiving it. As long as he possessed it he was said to "enjoy religion." In its exercise there was a constant seeing or feeling of God — a perception of Him, and not merely a thought about Him. In trying to enter a religious life he "sought the Lord," and in succeeding he became conscious of a contract with the Deity assuring him of salvation. The hopes of other Christians were made certainties to Methodists, and they had nothing less than God's word for their assurance. The "witness" or "testimony" of the Spirit was a common experience. Methodists are descendants of Enoch, who walked with God, rather than of Abraham, who, Presbyterian-like, only had faith. They were in close intimacy, and enjoyed personal familiarity with, the Deity, — "communing" instead of merely praying. God talked with them as well as they with Him, and religion was mutual throughout. The religion of the Methodist was a felt relation to God, in which he was taken consciously into His purposes.

With all this assurance men had a powerful motive to look into and test religion. There was something definite and important to attain ; and the preacher, like the vender of patent medicines, asked men to come up and try it. Each was to judge for himself. Men "experienced religion," or made it a matter of personal acquaintance. The converted thousands gave their testimony ; and every class-meeting and love feast was an "experience meeting." To "give your religious experience," was an expression in familiar use. Methodism was an inductive religion, established on experimental observations. Men having made the experiments, became witnesses for the result. They told "what the Lord had done for them" ; and these observations and gatherings of fact were collected into an inductive theology, which is the philosophical faith of Metho-

dism. The religious inquiries and tests of Methodism are all akin to those of the inductive scientist. The religious experiences of Christians in revivals and praise meetings, — experiences of faith, trust, the witness of the Spirit, and the consolations of prayer, — are taken as the data for a science of religion, which Methodism embodies as a system.

But while all these peculiarities of Methodism have made it a sensational power in the past, they are not calculated to make it such for the future. They were new once, and therefore striking; and they had to exert an influence. Now they are old and men are used to them. The appliances of Methodism were an immense amount of energy to fling on the world at once. The new doctrine, new methods, and new country in which they worked, gave to the early Methodists an exceptional chance. Rarely does so much concur to make a great movement; and a great movement was the result. Some of their agencies, however, were not of permanent force. Their power consisted in their newness; and now that they are old, they are spent as a force. Powder once shot off cannot be exploded again. A cannon that scares with its first report makes less impression with a second, and soon causes no attention. The secret of a sensation's success is in its being the first; and the old appliances of Methodism are not now calculated to attract the attention they once did. Revivals are not sensational now, but have grown tame through familiarity; and the indifference reacts from the sinners on the Church itself. Few of the old scenes are re-enacted. Shouting is only a remembrance; jerks are unknown; the excitements of revivals, when they occasionally appear, do not draw, but are denounced as a warmed-over enthusiasm. The novelty of open-air preaching, so powerful in the times of Whitfield and Jesse Lee, has given way to the tame familiarity of street evangelists. The fact that Methodists have abundant good churches stamps open-air services as useless. The intense camp-meetings have given way to the respectable summer resorts. Class-meetings reveal nothing new to a people satiated with their trite utterances. Lyrics and popular mel-

odies have become as common out of churches as in them, the Devil having taken back the songs which Wesley took from him. The quaint costumes and peculiar observances of early Methodists, where not discarded, are regarded as indifferent eccentricities. The power of the peculiarities of Methodism is gone, and Methodism stands to-day as an unpeculiar religion.

Something new is needed,—as new as Methodism was a hundred years ago. The power of Methodism must ever be in its novelty ; and when it can no longer keep new it must decline. It came to the world with something which the world had not, but wanted. It now comes with something which the world wants, but has. It therefore produces no sensation with its offers. The question accordingly now is, Can it rejuvenate its energies ? Methodism was admirably organized to keep up sensations. The class-meetings were calculated to keep alive the revival fires through summer, and start them again in winter. The periodical love-feasts, and quarterly meetings helped toward the same end. The organization of Methodism was largely the organization of the revival, — an institution to perpetuate the fires of religion. Its ministers stood like vestal virgins to keep the light aglow which was to be the life of Christianity. For a hundred years official Methodism was mainly engaged in fanning a flame.

But while Methodism has been so admirably organized to keep up sensations, it should be organized to get up *new* ones. There is a limit beyond which old materials will not serve. The radically new must occasionally be introduced, and the questions for Methodism are, what can it discard ? what repair ? and what introduce ? It requires almost as much heroism to discard its old machinery as it did to introduce it, to throw away a worthless thing after it has become worthless, as to introduce a useful one before it became useful. Early Methodism was a prospect ; present Methodism is a retrospect ; and we want to get back more of the prospect. Methodism looking forward will always be a power ; Methodism looking back will always be a weakness. Methodism should not cease its work of getting up new agencies, or startling the

world with unheard-of things. It is a religion that was meant to be kept going, and forever adjusting itself to the new world in which it is to operate. When it ceases to effect changes by changing itself into effects, and becomes a worker of the past instead of the present, we must class it among the effete. Can Methodism, like a newspaper, keep up to date, and appear now and then in a new issue?

Other churches are doing something to create sensations which are to perpetuate their life. The Episcopalians have taken largely to ritualism, and many are arrested by its appeals to the dramatic in men. Processions, variegated costumes, gongs, lively music, and other theatrical displays attract the listless by an æsthetic sensationalism. This lively acting is new to Episcopalianism; and its newness strikes the class for which it is intended. The infusion of extreme high-church doctrines also adds to the curiousness of Episcopalianism. A class who profess to have Christ's body present on the altar, and to effect great changes by saying words or making signs over objects, like the old witches, will always attract attention from some. In their discussions over the right use of symbols, pots and kettles, there is an endless opportunity not to agree; and the issues are so simple that every one can understand and argue them. The Roman Catholics create like sensations by going still farther and attracting men by their very irrationalism. The incredulous challenges attention, and has a certain fascination for belief when boldly persisted in. The claim of infallibility and demand for the surrender of the intellect to authority is powerful from its audacity. The doctrines of Romanism are in general a contempt for sense and reason, and if a church claimed that there was no earth, there would be men who would covet the faith to believe it. The very despair of men feeds a large religious hope, and the Catholic Church reaps a rich harvest from the startlingness of its paradoxes. Sceptics who can believe nothing in Christianity will often accept something out of it, if it can be found more incredible than what we now have. Mormonism makes a like sensation by its polygamy; and its decided newness

keeps it before the world. It is a religion about which everybody must think ; and in thinking about anything some will become fascinated with it. Mormonism offers gratification, competence and power, and makes promises unknown in any other system. It comes with pretensions to a new revelation, and an ever-present Divine direction. It sets its devotees apart from the world, and has in its new Zion all the elements of a permanent sensation.

The independent churches have a like capacity for sensation in their heresies. They are the only bodies that can with safety start anything new in doctrine ; and they are digging up and throwing upon the world much that is startling. Nearly all progress in theology comes from this class ; and, while maintaining no great organization, they keep themselves before the world by their investigations. They are, perhaps, the most influential class in theology, modifying all the churches, and working changes beyond their limits rather than within them. Heresy is newer than the Gospel to most, and attracts attention where Orthodoxy will not. And so every other body that is making headway in religion is a getter-up of sensations, either of intelligence or ignorance, of wisdom or folly, of virtue or vice.

And so it has been in the past. Sensations have accompanied all great movements. Christianity itself was a sensation when it first struck the earth ; and its newness carried it till it swept the civilized world. It had a new God, a new heaven, a new hell, a new worship, and a new social life, — something new to believe and to do. It was not unlike early Methodism in the number and variety of its interest-creating agencies. The Papacy was similarly sensational when it first arose with its ambition to rule the world, and construct an empire within an empire that should outlast all governments. The elaboration of a grand ritual, and the wedding of Paganism with Christianity, became a power when the primitive religion of simplicity had ceased to attract as a novelty. Mohammedanism came with a still greater sensation, wedding the more primitive licentiousness and warfare of Asiatic barbarism with

European civilization. There was enough in this system to startle the world, and the sensational in it has hardly yet died out. The Reformation was sensational as re-creating the whole church, and re-organizing all the powers of Germany. It was a new idea, calling for action on the part of every man, priest and king, — a sensation which lasted a hundred years, and hardly subsided after a thirty years' war. And finally, when the Reformation as a sensation was dead in all the countries of Europe, Methodism came as an inspirer of life to Protestantism, with all the appliances to excite and maintain attention which I have indicated. It came in the line of great sensations, or movements having the sensational necessarily in them; and it is the last religious movement that has attracted the general attention of the world. The only question now is whether it is done as a sensation, or whether it can rally to keep itself up as such, and if so, what it further needs for this. Christianity (as a whole), Protestantism (as a whole), the Papacy and Mohammedanism are each vigorous and keeping the attention of mankind. Can Methodism do this? and what must it do to so perpetuate itself?

Methodism should not, for its self-perpetuation as a power, take up old sensations or others' sensations. A new ritual, or conformity to what has succeeded in other churches, which is sometimes advocated, would be an abandonment of its peculiar strength to take on a peculiar weakness. Ritualism is only the tail end of Episcopalianism and Catholicism, and we cannot raise a sensation by doing more feebly what others are doing more strongly. A non-ritual church will never succeed by ritual better than a ritual church. The Catholic and Episcopal churches have gotten out of ritualism all there is in it, and Methodism could never get up a grander or more elegant ritual. It would have to change its entire nature first, and to adopt a less attractive ritual would be only to make a less attractive church. For the power of ritual is in its attractiveness as a dramatic appeal. The only effect of a ritual service would be to feed those other churches, and not to increase Methodism. Giving men a taste for ritual will send them

where they can get more of it, and get it better. The Episcopal thus feeds the Catholic Church, the ritualists being a passage-way from Protestantism to Romanism. The Catholic Church feeds the theatres, which can outdo all religion in dramatic effect; so that this church stands as a passage-way from Christianity to the world. Catholicism also revives Paganism, which was still more grandly ritualistic than Christianity can ever be with its one God and no sacrifices. A Græco-Roman renaissance is not more incredible in religion than in art. For while Catholicism inclines to its ceremonies, Rationalism inclines to its poetic conceptions as expressive of modern Naturalism. Christianity has nothing to gain by ritualism whose powers are shared mainly between the stage and Paganism.

Nor can Methodism take up Rationalism as a new power. That has already been exhausted as a sensation by the Liberal Christians. A Methodist preacher is not apt to say anything new in this field; and should the Methodist Church liberalize, it would only appear to the world as following in the train of others. There are already liberal churches enough, where liberalism can be gotten more pure and strong, so that none would think of applying to Methodism for it. It would be as suicidal to follow Unitarianism as Episcopalianism for power. Rationalism, besides, has not in it the elements of sensation. The people are few who can be interested in its problems and distinctions. It requires a culture which the masses have not, and the result is not calculated to work on the active powers like the emotional doctrines of Methodism. The loosening of dogma has little other effect than to put men out of the power of dogma. Men require strong convictions to act; and doubt, which is the essence of liberalism, does not give strong convictions. The Methodist as a liberal church would be very weak, as it has not in its masses the power to do the thinking of liberals. It would simply lead to uneducated scepticism, like that of the French Socialists. This is very different from a mildly rational theology, like Arminianism, which is a popular theory. The Rationalism of Common Sense Methodism already has; that of Philosophy it can never attain.

The sensations which are to revive Methodism must be new and arise from current events. Every great reformation has sprung from present needs, and movements will not spread except by current impulse. The successful church will always be sensitive to men's modern wants, discerning the signs of the times, and imbued with the spirit of the age. It must be adapted to the Now, and keep up with history. Its sensations must accordingly be frequent and frequently changing. They must be dropped as soon as squeezed dry. The new must be sought, not as mere novelty, but as a closer adjustment to the latest existing wants, which is newness enough. The world itself creates a demand for such a church, and its success is natural and spontaneous.

For this purpose liberty must be given to the church both to experiment and make new adjustments. A cast iron system, stereotyped to work only in one way, and to so work for all time, will not admit of the needed changes. A church must provide for self-modification, and be capable of a vast amount of internal change without loss of identity. The growing is always changing; and men must ever be on the look-out for the advantages of the new. In a great system the problem is how to allow each his entire individuality, so as to seek needful changes without being cut off as an innovator. We need a charity to tolerate difference, as well as a wisdom to foresee the useful. A church's unchangeableness should not stand in the way of its effectiveness, or its general features of its special opportunities.

Modern sensations must obviously be small. The great ideas have all been thought, and the great movements generally attempted. Anything grand now contemplated will likely have been anticipated. The great revolutions and reformations have all been made, and there is no demand for any now. What the sixteenth century left undone has been supplemented by subsequent reformations within the Reformation. There is now a church founded on almost every great idea, and some on very small ideas. The present is not a church-forming age, but, encountering a limit to further individuation, has a ten-

dency to reaction. The only possible great movement now is toward reunion, which is not sensational. The bringing about of agreements does not agitate men like the bringing about of differences. The activity of the church is in its dividing rather than its reuniting, the latter being growth or accretion, which is slow and not convulsive.

Another difficulty preventing great uprisings is the circumstance that the people have the facts as soon as the preacher, so that there is not the ignorance necessary for universal movements. By relying on the press instead of the pulpit for information, men anticipate movements and discuss them as laymen as ably as do ecclesiastics. No class can come to another class with anything very new in religion; and since we are acquainted with events in their causes long before they occur, we are not the subject of surprises so much as formerly; and important matters do not receive universal attention at once, which is necessary for sensational movements. Such world-wide awakenings as those of Wesley, Luther, Huss, and Peter the Hermit, would be impossible now.

Modern sensations will, therefore, be generally individual rather than connectional, identified with a man or event rather than a denomination, and will have only a proportionate magnitude. They may, however, for that reason be more numerous, so that church interest becomes thereby distributed. Instead of Methodism, Presbyterianism and Catholicism, the sensations are Beecher, Moody, Prohibition, or some other subject affecting mainly a congregation or a day. One may make a sensation of himself if he cannot of his church (which now approaches other churches and is too much approached by them). Sensational preaching, sensational services, and sensational Sunday school and pastoral work are among the means for this. He must be a poor clergyman who cannot do something to interest his people; and if the people of every congregation are interested the whole will be interested, and the benefits of a great organization measurably attained without reliance on the organization. Since the individualizing of Christianity the individuals themselves must get up the inter-

est instead of relying on the whole. There is no end of possible sensations calculated to hold the children, from whom memberships may be formed. In fact, keeping the people instead of gaining them, is the line in which effective church work is now to be done; a change which becomes necessary when a church is once established, and the masses as a whole have been swept in. The church having the new generation must see to not letting them go. It becomes in this age conservative instead of aggressive. If Methodism did not let its children fall, it would not need to convert very many. Nursery work would dispense with revival work. The Roman Church makes its progress by holding its own — its natural increase. It is only the first age of a church that need be its missionary age. The following ages should be educational. Methodism makes the mistake of keeping up too exclusively its revival agencies when it has already revived the people, instead of changing itself into a sensational upbuilding church.

Austin Bierbower.

ARTICLE XV.

The Relation of Memory and Conscience.

THE essential condition of that state which we call Heaven, is invariably assumed to be one of perfect happiness. But if our individual Consciousness is unchanged by our entrance upon another stage of existence, we cannot reflect upon this conception of perfect happiness without encountering the question, What is to be done with the memory of things painful to recall? Those theologies which teach the endless misery of some souls, have a double difficulty to meet in the continuous action of memory; their dogma must give rise not only to unhappiness in the remembrance of past evil, but of past good.

A variety of reconciling theories have been offered, none of which seems satisfactory. To say that,

"Some draught of Lethe must await
The slipping through from state to state,"

is only starting a new question which involves as great psychological as moral difficulties, since self-identification must be lost if Memory "sleeps the sleep that knows no waking." The form the question takes with Universalists is fully stated in Question thirteen of Mr. H. W. Ballou's article in the *QUARTERLY* for July, 1883: "Will the memory of past sins make man unhappy, when he has ceased to do evil and learned to do well, and realizes that God has made even the sins of men to minister to His benevolent designs, and that what they meant for evil He meant for good, thus making all things praise Him? and if so, will he not be unhappy while memory lasts?" The substance of this question was also discussed in the *QUARTERLY* for July, 1879, in the "General Review," but no decisive answer was given.

It is my object to give an answer based upon our present knowledge and experience, involving no change fundamental to our present mental constitution, — to indicate how complete happiness is attainable under conditions now assumed to be known.

The question narrows itself to the relation between Memory and Conscience, because we are considering Heaven only in its moral aspect, happiness only so far as it is contingent upon moral conditions; but psychologically the question is the relation of Memory and Emotion, and the difficulties that have prevented a solution of the question, arise from the incorrect assumption that *Memory* is the *cause* of *emotion*, whereas it will be found on reflection that memory is not the cause, but only the antecedent, of emotion. For, first, we remember many things without any emotion; second, the same memory may not only antecede different emotions in different persons, but different, and even opposite emotions in the same person; third, the fact may be recalled without any of the emotion formerly excited.

What, then, is the direct cause of emotion? or, perhaps more correctly, What is the causal link between memory and

emotion? It seems to me to consist in the ethical or æsthetic relation sustained to the fact as a cause of pleasure or pain. A present fact must excite pleasure or pain, or it will not awaken emotion, and the emotion varies with the effect as to intensity. In the moral order pleasure or pain depends upon our ethical relation to the act. Shame is an emotion arising from the ethical relation of guilt; remorse is a more complex emotion having the same source, — if the connection were immediate between memory and emotion it would be indissoluble, and man would never be freed from that deepest of hells, “the hell to be his own accuser.” But since the connective is variable psychologically, it remains to be seen how the ethico-psychological change is effected.

It is necessary to the understanding of what I conceive to be the nature of this change, to distinguish between remorse and disapprobation. So long as guilt remains the consequent emotions remain, but when guilt is removed by repentance and forgiveness, and by amending the evil we have done, we remove it so far as is possible, — then in proportion to the completeness with which this is done our remorse is lessened. We do not consequently, however, feel any gratification from our wrong act, but with our moral growth our disapprobation increases. To feel any complacency in a wrong act is to nullify our repentance, and to refer the remedial good to a wrong source; for the evil has not been causatively productive of good, but a power has interposed which has intercepted the consequences of our evil act, and effected results different from the unrestricted action of the evil. The good is not in the evil, but the good by its own activity destroys and displaces the evil. The weeds which are removed to make way for a wheat crop might as well claim to be the cause of the crop as evil to be the cause of good.

When, by the destruction of the remotest consequences of evil evolved in our act, our ethical relation to it is wholly changed, then there will remain only the memory of the deed to guard us against its repetition, and strengthen our moral perception. The happiness we gain by this perfect reconcilia-

tion with the Supreme Righteousness implies no abatement of memory ; without memory we might indeed be perfectly happy and perfectly justified, but we should have no consciousness of the relation between our present and past conditions. Perfect happiness and unchanged consciousness are, however, only reconcilable for all beings on the ground of our faith, that evil will be finally and forever destroyed. If any evil remained then there would remain the fear that some of the guilt of that evil attached to us, through the evil activities our deeds had animated. There would then be no Heaven, for the truth is not that the abolition of Hell is the abolition of Heaven, as not a few teachers of endless torment have affirmed ; but unless Hell is abolished, there can be no perfect Heaven. We shall enter upon the "joys which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived," when the conquest of evil is complete, when "old things have passed away and all things have been made new" through the reconciliation of man the child with God the Father.

Georgianne E. Watson.

ARTICLE XVI.

"*The New Covenant.*"

The New Covenant. Volume I. The Four Gospels. By J. W. Hanson, D.D. Boston and Chicago: Universalist Publishing House. 1884.

THE Introduction to this work contains an interesting and generally accurate summary of the defects and merits of the Established and Revised Versions, the purpose and method of the translator, his judgment of the value of the chief codices and editions of the New Testament. He rightly regards the edition of Westcott and Hort as the one most nearly approaching perfection. On page vii. is the inaccurate statement that only eight manuscripts, *none older than the tenth century*, were accessible in the days of King James. Codices Bezae and

Claromontanus, both of the sixth century, were, as early as 1582, in the possession of Beza, on whose edition (1598) of the Greek Testament the authors of the King James Version largely relied.

1. It is of the first importance to determine the text. No accurate translation can be made from an inaccurate text. The author regards Sinaiticus and Vaticanus and the Greek Test. of Westcott and Hort of the highest authority. Two courses were open to the translator. Confiding in the judgment of the editors, he could have simply rendered as accurately as possible the text they place before him; or he could enter the lists as a competitor with them for the honor of reproducing most nearly the autographs of the New Testament books. It is greatly to be regretted that the latter alternative was chosen. The task demands a fulness of critical apparatus far exceeding the ability of any one man to collect and master. It requires a delicacy in the weighing of evidence which can only be obtained by long training and complete familiarity with the whole ground traversed. If Sin. and Vat. were the only first-class sources of the text, with Alex. as a secondary source, yet holding the balance of power, and other codices, versions, patristic citations, could be left out of account, the problems before the textual critic would be simple and easily solved. But no one can study the three hundred pages which Dr. Hort devotes to a presentation of the problems and methods of textual criticism in Vol. ii. of Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament, or examine the essay of Dr. Warfield on the same topic, in Dr. Schaff's "Companion to the Greek Testament," without seeing how infinitely complex the problems may become, and how patient and delicate must be their handling. This attention the author has not been willing to bestow, and as a consequence, the text he adopts is far inferior to that of Alford, Tischendorf, or Westcott and Hort.

(a) The author sometimes adheres to the readings of the Authorized Version, though they are contrary to those of Sin. and Vat. and the critical editions. Here belong John iv. 36,

where the word "*also*" is retained; Luke vi. 48, where "upon the rock" is given, though the phrase, *ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ*, is absent from Sin. and Vat. In Luke ii. 14 we read "good will among men," though *εὐδοκίας* is the reading of Sin., Vat., W. and H., and the Revised Version. A notable instance is Mark vii. 16, which whole verse is inserted on the authority of Alex., while Sin., Vat., and modern editors omit it. In Luke vi. 9, the weakly attested reading of Griesbach, *ἀποκτείνει*, "to kill," is retained, while codices Sin., Vat., Bezae, and following them, Lachmann, Tisch., and Westcott and Hort have *ἀπολέσαι*, "to destroy." Other examples might be given.

(b) Undue weight is given to the readings of Codex Sinaiticus. Tischendorf, the discoverer of the Codex, has been justly charged with partiality toward his "darling." But here Tischendorf himself is surpassed. An instance of this is John xx. 31, where the word "æonian," *αἰώνιον*, is inserted, which is rejected by Tisch. Here may be mentioned Matt. xii. 30, where, against the judgment of Westcott and Hort, and Tisch., "me," *με* is introduced. The same is true of John iii. 5, where we read *ἰδεῖν*, "see the reign of heaven," instead of *εἰσελθεῖν*, "enter": 31, iv. 24. It is especially in the Gospel according to John that this undue preference is manifest. Chapters iv., vii., viii., xi., contain many instances.

(c) There are omissions of words or phrases. At John iv. 6, *οὕτως*, "thus" is wanting, which is all the more significant since it undoubtedly occasions a real difficulty, and is relied upon by Matthew Arnold and other critics, as proof that the author had certain logia or sayings concerning Jesus, which he inserted, sometimes unskillfully, into his narrative. Luke i. 65, the words, *διελαλεῖτο πάντα*, are omitted entirely from the translation. In Matthew ii. 9 *αὐτούς*, "them," is omitted.

(d) There are traces of haste and want of care. One reads on page xii. of the Introduction: "The words in Italics are found either in the Sinaitic, or Vatican, or both, and *are not* in the Greek of Westcott and Hort." The author, it is to be assumed, intended to state the matter correctly, but he either forgot to exercise due care, or changed his method. As a

consequence, there are *at least sixty-five* instances in which he has put a word, or phrase, or whole verse, in italics when the Greek equivalent is found in the text of Westcott and Hort. Notable instances are found in Matthew vi. 15; xvii. 15; xxi. 7, 29, 30; xxvii. 49; others can be traced with equal readiness.

2. The translator informs the reader that he attempts to render the words of "the inspired record in plain, simple, idiomatic English;" does not design the translation for public use, but for study; therefore does not regard association or other consideration, aims simply to convey the precise meaning of the words in question. From this point of view the translation must be judged. It will be found to have some positive merits. Many obsolescent or uncouth phrases, which still deface the pages of the Revised Version, are here replaced by modern and more pleasing words. The translator has constantly consulted this version, and traces of its excellencies are to be seen on nearly every page. Many of the suggestions of its margins have been adopted, and in many cases to good effect. Meyer and other commentators have been consulted, and the results of their researches used to advantage. The work has the one great merit of freedom. The transliteration for *αιων* and its adjective, though carried out with what Matthew Arnold would call too much "vigor and rigor," is an acceptable feature. This may also be affirmed of *Gehenna* and *Hades*. In many places the fitting word has been chosen; e.g., in Mark vii. 35, *δεσμός* is finely rendered "ligature," where the Revised Version has "bond"; Luke xvi. 13, *οικετης* by "domestic," instead of "servant."

But with the many translations and commentaries now accessible, a translation of many excellencies ought to be produced. The translator can add to his own knowledge of the Greek, the suggestions of able students of all lands and times. A new translation ought to be an improvement on its predecessors, and this high "meed of praise" cannot, it is to be feared, be awarded to the one under consideration, for reasons which follow.

(a) The English used is frequently not good. It is true that we are warned that the translation is not for public use, and may not expect to find the euphony and ease of the common versions; but the accuracy of translation does not demand such infelicities as: Matt. v. 10, "for thus did they persecute the prophets, those who preceded you"; Mark ii. 26, "in Abiathar the high priest's days"; Matthew xvii. 4, "three booths—for you one, and Moses one, and Elijah one"; or Luke xx. 25, "Return Kaisar's things to Kaisar, and God's things to God." The word "transpire" for "happen" occurs at least twice. The ambiguous word "transport" is used in John viii. 56, where we read, "Abraham, your father, was transported to see my day, and saw it, and was glad."

(b) The Greek idiom is not followed. As is well known, the Greek definite article is often used for the possessive pronoun. But for want of due care in this, occur such sentences as Mark vii. 11, "If a man shall say to the father or the mother." At times the article is retained before abstract nouns to the detriment of the translation, as in John v. 34: "But I receive not the testimony from a man." See further Luke xv. 22, Matt. xix. 15. In John v. 43, which is a conditional sentence of the form called by Goodwin "the Vivid Future," two forms of condition are confounded, thus: "If another should come in his own name you will receive him." Although the verb "to tithe" is transitive both in Greek and English, we read, Luke xi. 42: "because you tithe of mint and rue." In Luke i. 15 the phrase, οὐ μὴ πίῃ, having the double negative and an Aorist Subjunctive equivalent to the simple Future, is rendered, "He *may not* drink."

(c) The reader is informed in the explanation that the words in brackets are supplied by the translator. The natural inference is that words not in brackets have an equivalent in the Greek text. But the student will find himself frequently misguided. There are many passages where the bracketed word *has* a Greek equivalent, as Matt. v. 10; Luke viii. 15, 45; Matt. xvi. 9; Luke xi. 5. This is evidently from want of care.

Again, there occur countless instances in which the subject of the sentence is implied, being readily determined from the context and the verbal termination. Sometimes the translator puts the supplied subject into brackets, as if it were an addition of his own, sometimes inserts it without note. An example is Mark iv. 32, where the phrase, καὶ ὅταν σπαρῇ, ἀναβαίνει, is given, "and when it is sown, [it] grows up." Since neither verb has an expressed subject, there is no reason why they should not be treated alike. Nearly every page presents instances of this want of uniformity. The Genitive Absolute and the Accusative with the Infinitive usually demand the insertion of some suitable connective, such as "when," "while," "since," "because," or "that." Such words the translator supplies, but there is the same want of uniformity. This, it is true, is a minor matter. But the translation is evidently intended for students who are ignorant of Greek, and the translator professes to put into brackets the supplied words. By bracketing words not supplied he gives the reader untrue data, and leaves him without remedy.

(d) The choice of synonymous words in a language so rich as is the English is often difficult, and a translator should be granted much freedom. A careful translation will be the result of fine discriminations amid verbal niceties. Surely judgment should here incline unto mercy. But doubtful cases aside, there are many passages where the translation, departing from the usual rendering, seems fairly obnoxious to an adverse criticism.

It is useless to attempt to traverse the whole ground. The earlier pages furnish an ample number of instances. Luke i. 2, ὑπηρέται, properly "under-rowers," then "servants," "helpers," "assistants," is rendered "dispensers." This is not translation; it is comment. Matt. i. 22, and frequently πληρωθῇ is translated "verified." But πληροῶ in the Passive means to be "fulfilled, completed, accomplished," and ἵνα πληρωθῇ, that it may be "fulfilled," is surely different from "may be verified." Fulfilment is indeed verification, but it is far more. In Luke ii. 2, we read, "This, the first registry, was made by Quirinius,

proconsul of Syria." But the italicized words are in the Genitive absolute, expressing the circumstance of time, and are so understood by commentators. Had Luke wished to indicate the agent he would have used ὑπό. Besides, the preceding word is ἐγένετο, not in the Passive but Middle Voice, to be translated "took place," or "occurred," or perhaps better with Meyer and others, is equivalent to "was"; in any case the sentence is not passive, and the whole translation becomes wrong.

Matt. iii. 2: βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, "the reign of the heavens," instead of "the kingdom of heaven. So Matt. v. 3, "Happy the poor in spirit, because theirs is the reign of the heavens"; Matt. xiii. 24, "the heavenly reign"; so elsewhere. The phrase "reign of the heavens," is ambiguous in sound, and the terms "kingdom of heaven," "kingdom of God," have a fixed and common religious meaning and use.

Matt. iii. 16: ἐρχόμενον, "resting"; but ἔρχομαι, "to come" or "go," is never the equivalent of μένω, to "remain." Mark ii. 4; κλῆβαντος is rendered "pallet." The word signifies a "couch-bed," and may be of any quality; while "pallet" signifies a coarse or poor one, and not of necessity movable. Matt. vii. 3: κάψος, any small particle, is rendered "sliver," and δοκός, a beam, is given as "stick"; so that we read, "and why see the sliver that is in your brother's eye, but perceive not the stick in your own eye?" From a wrong rendering of the words in question, the sentence loses its original and true antithesis. Matt. xi. 8: μαλακός is first given as "soft," which is correct, but is at once reproduced as "showy," for which there is no warrant. Matt. xii. 27: διὰ τοῦτο is translated "in this." There is want of uniformity in the treatment of specific and technical terms. Sometimes they are translated, as μῶδιον, "grain-measure"; sometimes transliterated, so that we read, for instance, "sata," or "assaries," or "sextuses," and the notes give the reader no light. Luke x. 4, πήρα is rendered "sachel," elsewhere "wallet," once "traveling-bag."

Unsatisfactory is the treatment of verbal parallels The

revisers made it a rule, in the Synoptics, to translate the parallel passage, where the text was the same, in every place in the same way. Our translator gives notice that he does not adopt this rule. As a consequence the student, comparing the parallels, has his attention constantly drawn to verbal differences, and is unable to determine whether they are of the original or manufactured by the translator. Injustice is done to the New Testament, for the cause of faith demands that while real differences should be honestly recognized, no needless difficulties should be created. The Synoptics have much matter verbally similar; such a method of translation conceals it.

(c) But the translation contains also features which, since they cannot result from want of judgment or knowledge, must be attributed to haste and want of care. Such are: the confusion of *αὐτός*, self, or same, with *οὗτος*, this, as in Matt. iii. 4 and Mark ii. 36; the words "do not say," as the equivalent of *ὡχ ὑμεῖς λέγετε*, in John iv. 35. At Matthew xiii. 5, the phrase, *διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς*, is, contrary to all precedent, given as "*though not having depth of earth.*" In the parallel passage, Mark iv. 6, precisely the same original is translated, "because it had not much earth." Luke xviii. 25, the words "*εὐκοπώτερον γὰρ ἐστὶν κάμηλον διὰ τρήματος βελόνης εἰσελθεῖν,*" appear as, "It is easier for a camel to perforate a needle's eye," and in a note below the passive noun *τρήμα* figures as a verb, meaning "to perforate."

3. The Harmony follows largely the usual order, and does not require special comment. Strong, Robinson and Tischendorf have apparently been consulted. A welcome improvement is the insertion of Matthew xxiv. and xxv. as one connected whole.

4. The author does not present his commentary as full or complete. It is largely controversial, or an elaborate exegesis of the special passages which have long been subjects of controversy. For this purpose it has much value. Of the matter thus presented, covering perhaps seventy pages, about one half is reproduced, for the most part verbally, from the pages

of the author's previous works, "Bible Proofs," "Bible Threatenings Explained," and "Aiōn." This republication will cause the really valuable matter of those earlier works to reach a larger circle of readers. Of the remaining half, some twenty pages consist of citations from Drs. Paige, Clarke, Thayer, Demarest and others. in support of the positions taken, and are both useful and generally convincing. The remainder, some fifteen or twenty pages, is new, original matter. Much of it is good. But some blemishes should at once be remedied.

On page 4 it is said that in the earlier part of the Revised New Testament, the phrase *πνεῦμα ἁγίου* is usually rendered Holy Spirit. But this is an error.

On page 17 it is affirmed that "Greek had been the *prevailing* language of Judea for *several* centuries." Since the introduction of Greek dates from the era of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ, the word "several" is clearly out of place, while as to the adjective *prevailing*, we are informed by the author, on page 329, that "the common speech of the Jewish people had . . . become a corrupt dialect, 'Syro-Chaldaic' or 'Aramaic.'"

On page 75 we are informed that the oldest Targum is that of Jonathan Ben Uzziel. This is news indeed. That of Onkelos on the Pentateuch has hitherto counted as the first.

On the same page the date of the latest writings of the Old Testament Apocrypha is put as 150 B.C., and the next page contains a statement to the same effect. But 1 Maccabees brings the history of the Asmonean family down to 135 B.C., and was not written until after the death of John Hyrcanus, 107 B.C., and 2 Maccabees is of later origin still.

On 219 one reads that the Gemara Babylonicum was written "probably during the Babylonish captivity," and, some lines below, that it was written during the seventy years' captivity, that is, between 588 and 537 B.C. But this is surely about a thousand years too early.

The author had before him a task of the utmost difficulty and delicacy; the greatest wonder is that he had the courage

to undertake it. The ground to be traversed is so vast, and yet the knowledge demanded so minute, detailed, accurate, that a certain measure of failure was inevitable. And while recognizing gladly many excellencies, judgment must be rendered that we have here no really important addition either to the list of translations extant or to our own denominational literature.

Prof. H. P. Forbes.

ARTICLE XVII.

Reaffirmation of the Universalist Exegesis of 2 Cor. V. 10.

IN my original article on "Certain Controverted Texts of Scripture," but little space was devoted to the one above cited. The aim was merely to justify, from the Greek original, the position usually taken by our writers, that the words "done" and "in," supplied by the Common Version, really had no right there. This position was confirmed, not only from the most obvious construction of the Greek text, but by the renderings of two of the most ancient and most valued of the early versions, the Peshito Syriac, and Latin Vulgate. It was especially insisted upon that, in the phrase "may receive the things," etc., the term "things" (Gr. *τὰ*), as object of the verb, must be considered as the things *received*, and not things *done*, this word being supplied. This was confirmed from Dr. Barnes, who, as to what the term "things," here used, means, replies: "The appropriate *reward* of the actions of this life." If, then, the word "things" means the *reward*, it cannot mean "the things *done*," and if it means the *reward*, it must be the *reward received*, since it is the object of the verb "receive," expressing what is received. Instead of this, the Common Version assumes that it is "the things *done*" which are received, which is pure nonsense. If the Common Version had read, "may receive *reward for the things done*," it would at least make good

sense out of the phrase ; but the Gr. Text, normally construed, expresses no such idea. We must thus, with Dr. Barnes, take the term " things " in the sense of *reward*, and of reward *received*. Yet Dr. Barnes, of course, holds the common orthodox view of the passage in question.

Now, to avoid the force of this reasoning, it is urged that the verb " receive," here, actually involves the whole idea given above : " may receive *reward for*," etc. ; and two texts are cited for justification of this construction (Col. iii. 25 ; Eph. vi. 8). Yet these passages afford not a particle of ground for such construction, nor are they thus construed by the great mass of exegetes. Take the first cited (Col. iii. 25) : " But he that doeth wrong shall receive (for) the wrong which he hath done." Here, the word " for " is supplied. Literally, we should translate : " he that doeth wrong shall *receive the wrong*, which he hath done." As will be seen, " the wrong," here, is the object of the verb " receive." That which Winer means, in his note on this text, is, that " the wrong " is to be taken in the sense of reward ; " he shall receive back the wrong, in the shape of reward." This is precisely the sense of " the things," in 2 Cor. v. 10 : " may receive the things " ; i. e. the reward. But does the verb " receive," in Col. iii. 25, include *in itself* the notion of " reward for ? " By no means. It has the sense of " shall receive," and nothing more. That which *is* received is expressed in the verb's object, " the wrong," i. e. in the shape of reward, according to Winer's note. Precisely the same remarks apply to Eph. vi. 8 : " whatsoever good thing any man doeth, *the same* (good thing, in the shape of reward) shall he receive." Does the verb " receive," here used, include the notion of " reward for ? " No ; at all ; that which *is* received is not expressed in the verb, but in its object. To make Winer, Athenagoras, or any other critic, responsible for the former idea, is to do him the greatest injustice. Yet it is claimed that the verb " receive," in 2 Cor. v. 10, does include the sense of " reward for," and the two texts above are cited in justification of it. They afford not a particle of

proof of it ; and this I have insisted upon before. In each of these three texts, the word "receive" has its regular object, expressing what *is* received ; namely, the reward ; this is not expressed in the verb.

I have said thus much in reply to Pres. Cone's "Rejoinder," in the *Quarterly* for January, 1884. Having quoted the two texts, Col. iii. 25, and Eph. vi. 8, as parallel to the one in question, he remarks : "Take out the idea of reward from its verb in each of these passages, and what intelligible notion do they convey ?" My reply is, that "the idea of reward," in these three passages, is not expressed in "its verb," is not contained in nor denoted by "its verb," which means "receive," and nothing more. The "idea of reward" in each of these three texts is expressed only in the *object* of "its verb." The sole function of the verb, here, is to express the notion of "receive," while the sole function of the verb's object, here, is to express that which *is* received ; i. e. the reward, or that which is to be taken in the sense of reward, "the wrong," the "good thing," or "the things." Is not my critic able to distinguish here, between these two functions ? the one of the verb, the other of its object ? If not, it is useless to discuss this point further with him. But I repeat it, in none of these texts, does the verb "receive" take any other sense but "receive" ; that of reward, which *is* received, is expressed by its object.

But Pres. Cone has favored us now, with the very words of a recognized authority, in support of his position ; namely, Dr. Grimm, in his *Clavis Novi Testamenti*, who says : "*αποδέχεται id quod fecit, facti vel præmium vel pœnam*," which Pres. Cone renders : "to receive that which he has done, to receive the reward or penalty." Under this, Grimm cites our three texts as examples. Now, what does this author mean here ? that the verb "to receive" takes also the sense of "reward for," according to Pres. Cone ? No ; the farthest from it possible. He means simply that, to receive "the wrong," in Col. iii. 25, or "the good thing done," in Eph. vi. 8, or "the things done," in 2 Cor. v. 10 ; — "to receive the

reward or penalty," in each instance; and this is precisely what Winer meant, and no more, in his note before cited by me. Grimm takes 2 Cor. v. 10, for an example, only because he assumes that the word *done*, in "the things *done*," is a part of the text, the same as "the wrong" received, in Col. iii. 25. But taking it for granted, a moment, that Grimm attaches to the verb "receive," here, the sense also of "reward for," according to Pres. Cone, let us test this by introducing the extra idea, thus: "To receive (reward for) that which he has done — to receive (reward for) the reward or penalty." This operation, it will be seen, wholly changes the sense of the first clause, and utterly destroys the sense of the last clause. It is evident, then, that my critic has mistaken the aim of his authority, just as he has Winer's note and the passage from Athenagoras; not one of them gives the least support to his extra idea attached to the verb "receive." But the worst of all is, that Grimm's statement overthrows Pres. Cone's exegesis of 2 Cor. v. 10, and establishes mine, even granting the word *done* as regular, thus: "the things *done*," here — "the reward or penalty," the same as "the wrong," or the "good thing" done, in the other examples. Consequently "may receive the things *done*, in the body," — "to receive the reward or penalty, in the body," etc. I am satisfied with this if my opponent likes it. It will be perceived that both Grimm and Winer reject the sense usually attached to the words, "things *done* in the body," which is, "the *deeds* done in the body." Instead of this Grimm and Winer interpret "the things *done*," as "reward received in the body," the same as "the wrong" and the "good thing" done is the reward received in the other two examples. As in these other examples, "the things *done*," in 2 Cor. v. 10, express what is received, and this is the reward or penalty; precisely that which I have maintained from the first; this reward or penalty being received either *in* the body or *through* the body, just as my critic prefers. Grimm's authority for the Universalist exegesis of this text is thus very important, for which we are indebted to Pres. Cone.

It is hardly necessary to devote much space to the other points at issue between Pres. Cone and myself, except to correct some erroneous statements on his part. On the clause, *τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος*, which he regards as having a temporal force, "in the he body," he has failed to produce any direct authority; while for its instrumental force, "through the body," I have cited the words of several authorities, among them Meyer, his own. He mistakes when, on p. 96, he refers to Meyer as the "solitary authority" for the instrumental force; I had cited also Alford, Stuart, Wordsworth, Barnes, etc., for the same view, while he has produced none for the opposite view. Of course I refer to this particular phrase, for I have not said, as my critic represents, that *διὰ* never has a temporal force, nor even intimated the like; but I might have said that it but very rarely has the sense of *in*, as "in the body," when it is temporal. Another mistake is that *τὰ ἰδία*, which I had cited as variant of *τὰ διὰ*, is said by my reviewer not to be a various reading, but "a gloss." Now in Griesbach's "*Variae Lectiones*," given by Mill in his Greek Testament, *ἰδία* is put down as a variant; it is given as such, also, in Knapp's Greek Testament, and again in the "*Variae Lectiones*," published in Clark's Commentary, where it is said to have been the basis of the Vulgate's rendering. We can hardly set aside all these authorities for Pres. Cone's unsupported statement.

But the most surprising error of statement is when my critic attempts to force Winer's note, before cited by me, into his own service. Following the verb *κομίζεσθαι*, "to receive," Pres. Cone thus states this author's views: "It means he will 'suffer the reward' of the wrong 'in the form of penalty.' I could ask no better statement of the interpretation I have defended throughout." In the first place Winer says not a word as to the sense of the verb here, except to adopt its usual signification of "to receive." What he does say is applied to the verb's object, "the wrong," which he explains thus: "He will reap (*i.e.*, receive) *the wrong*," or "*the wrong* in the form of penalty." Winer, to be sure, uses the words, "the reward of it," but in defining "the wrong," not the

verb. He makes here "the wrong" a direct object of the verb "to receive," for just here lies the irregularity of the construction of the text requiring explanation. If he had said, he will receive or "suffer *the reward of the wrong*," as Pres. Cone represents, there was no irregularity to be explained. In fact, if the verb "to receive" here took the extra sense of *reward for* or *of*, according to Pres. Cone, there was nothing irregular to be explained in any one of these three texts. Thus "to receive the reward for or of the wrong," is perfectly regular; but "to receive *the wrong*," especially "the wrong *done*," is incongruous. It is this, the verb's object, that both Winer and Grimm seek to explain, while neither has a word to say of the verb "to receive," except to take it in this, its usual sense. Thus, in forcing Winer into his own service, my reviewer makes him attribute to the verb a meaning which, if it really possessed, there was no occasion for any explanation. What better proof that this extra sense of "reward for" attached to the verb "receive," is wholly erroneous, than the fact that to introduce it into our three texts would make them perfectly regular in their construction?

On the other minor points at issue between us, Pres. Cone merely repeats himself without producing any authorities. But throughout the major portion of his "Rejoinder," there are his customary attempts to put his opponent in a false position, with unusually frequent resorts to his rhetoric, this time more sophomoric than ever. All this, of course, demands no reply from me. Finally, as to this discussion, it is probable that I shall not find time hereafter that I cannot devote to better purposes.

O. D. Miller, D.D.

GENERAL REVIEW.

The Church at Corinth.

AN impression prevails among multitudes of Christian believers that the New Testament Church was specially blessed in its exemption from all heresies and false doctrines, and its freedom from all

party controversies and personal strifes. It is easy to see how this idea would find place with those who have never given any thoughtful inquiry to the subject. So near to Christ, and his disciples and apostles still living, and teaching, and founding churches, how could error or heresy get any footing among the early believers? Surely the presence and constant supervision of these inspired men must have secured to the first Christians purity of doctrine and life; and while *they* remained, at least, the condition of the churches must have been *Paradisaical*. To have lived in those days was a privilege and a of which those living in these later centuries know nothing.

But these conclusions are far from the truth, as a very slight examination of the histories and letters of the New Testament will show. Even the disciples of Jesus, while he was yet with them personally, frequently misinterpreted his teachings, and entertained false notions of his true character and mission. And in the Acts and the Epistles we find abundant evidence that there was no more harmony of opinions, no more freedom from false teaching, no more purity of living then than in these days. The men and women of the primitive church, the people who listened to the preaching of the apostles, and were converted to a belief in God and Christ, were exactly such people as we find in and out of the churches of this time in which we are living. They had the same moral infirmities and weaknesses, the same bodily passions and appetites, the same prejudices and jealousies and ambitions; and they fell into temptation and sin as easily as we do. And, moreover, in spite of the influence and personal presence among them of the apostles, they took up with new doctrines and speculations, and followed after heresies, "new lights," "vain philosophies," and lying revelations as readily as the people of this age.

It is not the purpose of this writing to go over the whole ground covered by these statements — that would require volumes—but only to bring to the reader's notice one or two illustrations bearing on the subject. The epistles of Paul to the Corinthian Church will furnish the material. Let us have first a few paragraphs from the first epistle;

"I hear that there be divisions among you, and I partly believe it. For there must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved, may be made manifest among you."

"It hath been declared unto me, my brethren, by them which are of the household of Chloe, that there are contentions among you. Now this I mean, that each one of you saith, I am of Paul: and I of Apollos: and I of Cephas (Peter); and I of Christ. Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul? When I came among you, brethren, I determined

not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ, and him crucified. And my speech and my preaching were not with enticing words of men's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power, that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God."

"And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ. I have fed you with milk, and not with meat; for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are ye able; for ye are yet carnal. For, whereas there is among you envying, and strife, and divisions, are ye not carnal, and walk as men? For while one saith, I am of Paul; and another, I am of Apollos; are ye not carnal? What will ye? shall I come unto you with a rod, or in love and a spirit of meekness?"

These passages reveal an unhappy state of things in the church at Corinth, and discover what divisions and strifes had already grown up among the brethren. Paul first came to Corinth about A. D. 52, and continued there teaching and laboring a year and a half; and this epistle was written probably in A. D. 57, only about three years and six months from the time he left. And indeed there is little doubt that he had written an earlier letter to this church, now lost, and to which he refers in chapter v. 9, — a passage in which some of them had intentionally, or otherwise, misapplied.

Here, then, in the brief space of *three years and a half*, we have the condition of things, the wretched backslidings, controversies, jealousies and party divisions described in the paragraphs cited above. Few churches among us to-day could do much worse than this in the same time.

In the short interval named we have as one item of their spiritual history no less than four distinct parties or factions in the church—one standing by Paul, the founder of the church, their "father," as he calls himself; the second preferring Apollos as a teacher, not probably because he taught doctrines different from those of Paul, but because of his oratory, or "excellency of speech," and Alexandrine "culture"; the third holding to Peter, which doubtless was the Judaizing portion of the believers, who maintained that the Law, or certain parts of it, were still in force; and the fourth party which refused to follow any leader save Christ himself, and who probably, therefore, spoke lightly of apostolic authority, and asserted their direct loyalty to Christ in such manner and spirit as to widen the breach between themselves and the other partisans.¹

¹ And yet what did these know about Christ beyond what they learned from the preaching of Paul or Peter? Does not the fact that they called themselves exclusively by the name of Christ, and rejected all other personal leadership, imply that they must

That these factions conducted their disputes with some acrimony seems to be implied by the severity of Paul's rebuke, and the terms employed by him to describe their conduct: "Contentions," "envying and strife, and divisions among you"; "ye are carnal"; "I could not speak unto you as spiritual" ye are "babes in Christ," "I have fed you with milk," because ye were "not able to bear meat." All this shows with great emphasis how little of the "unity of the spirit" there was among these Corinthians, and how soon they had fallen away from the teachings and example of Paul.

Then it is very evident, too, that some of the church had a personal enmity toward Paul, and were laboring to destroy his influence, and undermine his authority as an apostle. This is very apparent from many passages in both epistles, but specially in the second. And he does not hesitate to call them "false apostles, deceitful workers," and exclaims, "Are they Hebrews? so am I. Are they the seed of Abraham? so am I. Are they ministers of Christ? I am more; in labors more abundant," etc. xi. 12-xii.

Who they were that were thus bitterly hostile to Paul, is not in the record; but the words last quoted lead to the inference that they belonged to the Judaizing party, and perhaps were some of those whom he mentions in Galatians as "certain who came from James," and made such mischief at Antioch. In 2 Cor. x. Paul says, "I think to be bold against some which think of us as if we walked according to the flesh. For his letters. *say they*, are weighty and powerful, but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible." In chapter xi. he says, again, "I suppose I was not a whit behind the very chiefest apostles; but though I be rude in speech, yet not in knowledge," etc. Again, he says, he was "not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully — for we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus our Lord"; "for we are not as many who corrupt the word of God"; "do we begin again to commend ourselves, or need we, *as some others*, epistles of commendation to you, or letters of commendation from you?"—iii.

It is clear from these utterances of Paul that some were striving to injure him in the esteem of the Corinthian brethren, sneering at his speech and personal appearance, denying his right to be counted among the divinely appointed apostles, and working to destroy confidence in his teachings, and to alienate the affection of his converts.

have had some knowledge of Christ independent of apostolic teaching? Is it not a fair inference that one of the Gospels was in existence at this date, and had found its way into the hands of some in the Corinthian Church?

It was the outcome of the old Jewish exclusiveness, and of the hostility to Paul because of his efforts to break down the middle wall of partition between Jews and Gentiles. It reveals the spiritual and moral status of many in this church, and shows how far they had drifted away from the charity and the precepts of the Master. As already intimated, it would be hard to find a worse state of things in any church of modern times than existed in this primitive apostolic church some twenty years after the crucifixion.

Turning from these party divisions, and personal enmities, these "envyings, wraths, strifes, backbitings and whisperings" (2 Cor. xii.), let us come to the doctrinal heresies to be found in this church. We have already cited Paul's declaration that there were false teachers, who "handled the word of God deceitfully," who "corrupted the word of God"; and what he says also of them that preached "another Jesus" and "another gospel," different from those which he had preached. It is plain enough, therefore, that doctrines regarding Christ and his gospel had found lodgment in some minds which the apostle could not approve, which in substance were false; and against these he warns his converts, and entreats them not to be led astray by these heretical teachers, who were sapping the foundations of the true Christian faith. On this point he speaks in Galatians i, with great feeling and in strong terms: "As we said before, so say I now again, If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed. I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man; for I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." Paul would not have written with such intensity of feeling and expression, if there had not been teachers of heresies and dangerous errors who had already led many astray, and made serious trouble both among the Corinthians and the Galatians.

These false dogmas and corruptions of Christian teaching are not specially described, though on one point we have a definite statement, viz.: that of the Resurrection. In 1 Cor. xv. there is mention made of a party who denied the doctrine of the resurrection: "Now if Christ be preached that he rose from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead?" There is nothing in the record showing the precise form of this denial; whether the persons alluded to rejected the resurrection of the body merely, or the resurrection of the person, thus involving the denial of a future existence.

It is not easy to understand how any believer, having any intelligent comprehension of Christian doctrine, could deny a future existence, a fact which lay at the very foundation on which the whole system rested. But it would seem from the argument of Paul that there were such, as well as some who denied merely the resurrection of the body; hence the declaration, "If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable," followed by the positive assertion that "as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive."

On the other hand he says to those who deny the resurrection, and ask, "*How* are the dead raised up? with what *body* do they come?" that they mistake the nature or method of the resurrection. "That which thou sowest is *not* the body which shall be, but bare grain; it may chance of wheat or some other grain: but *God giveth it a body* as it hath pleased Him, and to every seed his own body. . . . *So also is the resurrection of the dead.*" The physical body which turns to dust is not raised, but God *giveth* the spirit a new body suited to the conditions and surroundings of its new life.

This last is an error, a misunderstanding of his teaching on the subject, and accordingly he enters into a patient explanation; but the other, the denial of the resurrection altogether, and consequently of the future life, was heresy in its worst definition, and Paul meets the denial with a positive affirmation of a future existence for all men.

But as already intimated, the fact of this denial by members of the Corinthian church indicates to what extent false teaching had gone among them, and what astounding heresies had at this early day corrupted the purity of primitive doctrine. No doubt this particular heresy came into the church from the pagan side, from an attempt to mingle heathen philosophy with the teachings of Christ and his apostles. The first converts of course accepted the great historical facts of the Gospel history, but they retained nevertheless many of their old opinions. They could not in a moment divest themselves of these, nor escape their influence in shaping their faith on those points which had not been specially treated by the apostles, or those who occupied the place of teachers of the new religion. And where the converts were men of education and gifted in teaching, like Apollos for example, they were soon appointed or chosen as preachers; and doubtless some of these were ambitious of reconciling the old and the new, their pagan philosophies and speculations with the simple doctrines of the Gospel.

As Enfield says, "Very soon after the rise of Christianity, many persons who had been educated in the schools of the philosophers, becoming converts to the Christian faith, the doctrines of the Grecian sects, and especially Platonism, were interwoven with the simple truths of pure religion. As the Eclectic philosophy spread, Heathen and Christian doctrines were still more intimately blended." This quotation applies more especially to a later than the apostolic period, but Paul's other epistles, as well as those to the Corinthians, witness fully to the fact that this corruption had already begun while he was yet on earth. To the Colossians he says, "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the traditions of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ." (ii. 8.) And Timothy he entreats as follows: "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called; which some professing have erred concerning the faith."—1 Timothy vi. 20, 21.

With regard to the resurrection it appears that there were various speculations among others as well as among the Corinthians, respecting its nature and process, and the probable change or experience represented by the term *anastasis*, whether material or spiritual, whether confined to this life or reaching into the future life. At all events we find some of the New Testament believers taking ground that "the resurrection is past already," eighteen hundred years ago. (2 Tim. ii. 18.) It is very obvious that these believers did not look upon the resurrection as a raising of the body. What notions they entertained on the subject, Paul's brief mention does not help us to determine. We can only guess, and perhaps the guess of the Assembly's Annotations is as probable as any; that "they taught that there was no other resurrection but the spiritual rising of the soul from the death of sin"; or as Doddridge expresses it, "that the resurrection consists only in a conversion from vice to virtue, and consequently is already past as regards all true Christians." See *Paige's Commentary*.

But we have not space to discuss this subject any further, or to follow the various trains of thought suggested by the little already said. It is evident, however, that in this leading apostolic church, even while Paul, its founder or "father," was yet active in his ministry, there was neither unity of spirit nor unity of belief. It is certain, as has been said, that many of the Pagan converts were only half converted, and brought not a few of their philosophical notions, and scientific speculations, and heathenish dogmas as well as heathenish

practices, into the church; and, as Paul sorrowfully admits, "overthrew the faith of some." And this brings us to another extraordinary feature of this church at the period named. The following will reveal the moral condition of some of the church members:

"It is reported commonly that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not so much as named among the Gentiles, that one of you hath his father's wife. And ye are puffed up, and have not rather mourned, that he that hath done this deed might be taken away from you. I have judged already as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed — to deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. Your glorying is not good." — 1 Cor. v.

What a wretched state of things when not only such a monstrous wickedness could be committed by a member of the church, but there could be found other members who sanctioned, and even gloried in it! It is impossible for us to imagine even the ground of their being "puffed up," or boasting of such an enormity. We should suppose, with Paul, that they would rather have mourned that one of their number could have been guilty of such a revolting crime; and that the whole church would have been humiliated and distressed that such a scandal existed among them, bringing reproach and condemnation even from the heathen, corrupt and licentious as they were, especially in Corinth. It is evident from the second epistle (vii. 12) that the father of this incestuous person was living at the time the wickedness was perpetrated — "I wrote you not for his cause who did the wrong, nor for his cause that suffered the wrong," etc. So this Christian son lived in incest with his step-mother while his father was yet alive! a crime which, as Paul says, was counted an abomination even among the Gentiles, and which Cicero pronounced an incredible wickedness, *scelus incredibile*. No wonder Paul says regarding it: "Out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote unto you, in many tears." 2 Cor. ii. 4. What unspeakable sorrow and pain it must have been to Paul to learn that this sin had been committed in his beloved Corinthian church, that there were those in the church who defended and justified the guilty man, and that all this was "commonly reported" among the heathen! He saw what the effect would be, what a hindrance it would be to the preaching of the gospel, and what reproach it would bring on the religion of the Saviour. All this appears in the mingled grief and reproach, tenderness and severity, which run through both his letters.

But evil practices of another character prevailed also in this Corinthian church, as may be seen in chapter xi. of the first epistle. Even at the Lord's Supper it would seem that gluttony, drunkenness and strange excesses were so common as to receive the special rebuke of Paul. We quote from the Revised Version :

" When therefore ye assemble yourselves together, it is not possible to eat the Lord's Supper : for in your eating each one taketh before other his own supper ; and one is hungry, and another is drunken. What ? have ye not houses to eat and to drink in ? or despise ye the church of God, and put them to shame that have not ? For this cause *many among you* are weak and sickly, and *not a few* sleep (are dead). Wherefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat, wait one for another. If any man is hungry, let him eat at home ; that your coming together be not unto judgment. And the rest I will set in order when I come." vs. 20-22, 30-34.

All this confirms the fact that heresies of practice as well as of doctrine were prevalent in the Corinthian church. They had turned the tender and sacred service in memory of the Saviour into a gluttonous and drunken feast ; and to such extent had they carried it that many had made themselves sick, and " not a few " had died from their intemperate excesses. It is evident that many of these converts looked upon the Lord's Supper as a sort of festival in honor of Christ, much after the manner of the heathen feasts by which they had been accustomed to honor their idols, or gods.

This exhibit of the condition of things at Corinth is sufficient evidence of the truth of the statement made at the beginning of this article concerning the early Christians.

Many of the Jewish believers had small conception of the breadth and universality of his religion, and of its spiritual character and aims ; regarding it as a complement of the Law, as a sort of gateway into the Messianic kingdom, through whose conquests and divine agencies the Gentiles, all the ends of the earth, were eventually to be brought into their Jewish Israel, and into subjection to Moses.

On the other hand, many of the Gentile converts merely accepted the historical facts of the Gospel, accepted God in the place of their idols, acknowledged the claims of Christ, and joined the company of believers. They brought many of their old pagan notions and practices with them into the church at first, and it took a long time and much labor of instruction, before they could shake off the influence of these, and enter into the grandeur of the new religion, understand its doctrines, comprehend the entirely spiritual character of its revela-

tions and aims, and conform to the severe purity of life and thought and feeling which it required of its disciples. From this source, and for these reasons, came many of the corruptions of teaching and doctrine into the early church—some of which remain to this day.

But we must come to a close. The facts passed in review show clearly enough that the primitive church was not a perfect church, free from all errors of doctrine and all violations of the moral law. How little did these Corinthians take in of that profound truth of the Saviour's utterance, "God is a SPIRIT, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth!" And how far they were from comprehending Paul's doctrine concerning the resurrection before he wrote his epistles — "It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body: God *giveth* it a body as it pleaseth Him: as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly." And what need that those gluttonous and drunken converts should heed his declaration, "they that sow to the flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption." And how painful and shocking to the Christians of this day is the fact that any portion of this Corinthian church could have defended, and even boasted of, the crime of their incestuous companion! And how shocking, too, that they should have had so distorted a view of the nature and intent of the Lord's Supper as to make out of it a half heathen feast, carrying their beastly excesses even unto death. The golden age of the Church is not in the *past*, but far on in the *FUTURE*!

Demons and Demoniacs among the Greeks

I. AMONG the Greeks the doctrine of Demons was taught by all the philosophers and poets in a more or less developed and scientific form. *Aristotle* divides intelligent beings into two classes: *immortals*, embracing gods and demons; and *mortals*, embracing heroes and men. *Pluto*, who was ambitious of knowing and teaching everything, furnishes us with a very detailed account of the nature, offices and employments of the demons. In the "Banquet," he says;

"Demons are intermediate between God and mortals. Their special business is to convey to the gods the petitions of men, and to carry back and interpret their answers and their commands to men. These demons are the source of all prophecy, and of the arts of conjuration and sacrificial consecration. The Deity has no direct intercourse with men, but all communications of the gods with mortals are carried on by means of demons, whether waking or in dreams. There are many kinds of such demons or spirits."

He speaks as positively as some of our modern theologians on kindred subjects. We might suppose he was on intimate terms with the gods and demons, and knew all about the matter. He proceeds to inform us that they are clothed with air or vapor, wander through the heavens, and among the stars, and sometimes take up their abode on earth. They foresee coming events, and have power to control them to a certain extent. Every man has a demon given him at his birth, who follows him through life, and at death conducts him to the place appointed, whether of happiness, purification or punishment.

Plutarch taught that there were gradations of character among these demons, accordingly as the divine or sensuous elements prevailed. Where the sensuous predominates, the demons were malicious, with violent passions and tempers, and disposed to mischief and injury. To conciliate these, and avert their destructive influences, was the purpose of many of the rude and noisy forms of the vulgar worship, and of human sacrifices. These malicious spirits delight in suffering, and in blood offerings, the odors of which they sniff up with exceeding satisfaction and delight. They also prompt men to all manner of evil and wickedness, and seek to draw them away from the worship of the gods. They are impure themselves, and excite impulse in man. They are vile and vicious, and seek to bring others into their own likeness. They diffuse abroad falsehoods and misrepresentations of the character and acts of the gods and of the supreme Deity, and endeavor to establish everywhere the reign of error and wickedness.¹

He also testifies that the ancients, (that is, relative to his time, A.D. 80), believed that evil and mischievous demons entertained envy and hatred toward good men, and did what injury they could to them. And *Saleucus* says, in the preface to his *Laws*, that these demons probably lead men into sin and wrong, being evil and wicked spirits. *Pythagoras*, who lived B.C. 600, maintained that the region of the air was full of spirits or demons, who caused sickness and diseases among men and beasts.²

¹ Neander's *Church History*, i. pp. 6-35. The moral element is specially prominent in these statements. It is not only physical injury they seek to do to man; but they aim constantly to corrupt his heart, and lead him into sin, to seduce him from the worship and love of God. This is the peculiar work of the Devil, according to modern mythology; but as the Greeks have no Devil *par excellence*, they are obliged to employ the Demons in this business.

² It is curious to note in the history of the world's mental growth and religious development, the points where the extremes of culture and ignorance meet. The cultivated Greek attributes his fever, or palsy, or epilepsy to a demon; the New Zealander,

Porphyry, the great antagonist of Christianity, (A.D. 270) affirmed that there were hurtful and malevolent demons, who inhabited the regions of the air near the earth, and were the authors of all the calamities and troubles which afflict mankind. He says that there is no mischief nor wickedness they are not engaged in; that they make a business of lying and deceiving, and seek in every way to draw men off from the worship of the true gods, and to set themselves up for gods. The chief of these demons is ambitious to be esteemed as the supreme or chief Deity. Some cities, or countries, he says, "found it necessary to appease and humor them by prayers and sacrifices; it being in their power to bestow riches and gifts for the body. And those desiring these things should endeavor to avert their wrath and power; otherwise they will vex and trouble them continually."

He states it as a settled fact that these evil spirits "will grow angry and hurt men, if they are neglected, and have not due honor and worship paid them, with prayers, supplications and sacrifices."³ This will suffice under this head; and now we come to another particular, viz.:

II. The Greeks believed that one class of these demons were departed human spirits, the souls of dead men. The following facts will show this, and will indicate one of the sources from which the Jews derived their notions in regard to the genealogy or nature of demons.

Hesiod, according to Plato, says that whenever a good man dies he becomes a demon. And Plato himself affirms that "all who die valiantly in war become demons, and we ought forever to adore and worship their sepulchres (at their sepulchres?), as the tombs of demons," who never dreamed of philosophy, and in his ignorance and degradation verges toward the brute, does the same:

"At the door of one of the huts sat a man in an apparently weak and languishing condition. On inquiry it was found that he was a distinguished *priest*, who had been supposed incurable, and was forsaken by all his friends and left to perish. He had been severely attacked with pleurisy, and the superstitious people *supposed that a demon god was eating out his heart!*

"The missionaries found him in a most deplorable condition, and with his consent applied a very large blister to his chest, which occasioned the severest pain, and made him lose his senses for a few hours, so that he ran out of the house in the night. However, it was instrumental of curing him; and he told the missionaries after he began to recover, that during those hours of agony, "the bad spirit within was pulling with all its might against the Christian spirit (the blister) without, so that between them both he was almost torn to pieces. The Christian, however, proved the strongest, and in plucking off the plaster *fairly dragged the bad spirit out of his breast!*" "The Cannibals: or A Sketch of New Zealand." p. 34. Boston, 1832.

³ Plutarch and Xenocrates both speak of those Festivals where the people indulge in ravings, and lamentations, and beatings, as intended to avert the wrath of evil and malignant demons, who are pleased with these — and the same judgment is passed on human sacrifices.

Pythagoras says the soul, if defiled with vices, becomes an evil demon; but if, having forsaken vice, it retain a solicitous affection for virtues which it practices in this life, it shall become a good demon.

And *Philo Byblius* says, that the Phenicians and Egyptians, from whom other nations borrowed the custom, counted as the greatest gods those who had proved themselves the greatest benefactors of mankind—and that to these they erected statues and monuments, and dedicated religious festivals.”⁴

Thus it will be seen that the souls of good men, or great men, became good demons after death, and the souls of bad men became bad demons; and each class followed the natural bent of its character.

III. The next important fact to be noticed is this: The Greeks believed that these departed human spirits or gods sometimes entered into the bodies of the living, and took possession of them; and, if evil, afflicted them in various ways with pains and diseases. There is a curious passage in *Herodotus* illustrating both this fact and this use of the word “demon.”

The Scythians, it seems, reproached or ridiculed the Greeks celebrating the Bacchic rites, saying it was “contrary to reason to suppose that a god would drive men into madness.” But soon after their king Scylas was initiated into the mysteries, and was seized with the furor; whereupon one of the disciples went forth and cried out to the Scythians, “You laugh at us because we celebrate the Bacchic ceremonies, and the god (ὁ θεός) possesses us; but now this same demon (ὁ δαίμων) has taken possession of your king, and he celebrates the rites, and is maddened by the god, ὁ θεός.”⁵ The terms “demon,” “possessed,” and “madness,” strikingly resemble the Jewish phraseology in the New Testament.

Strabo, who lived in the time of the Saviour, calls the goddess Feronia a “demon,” and declares that those “who were possessed with this spirit could walk barefoot over burning coals.” *Philostratus*, who was also contemporary with our Lord, relates the story of a demon who entered into a young man, and “while possessing him, confessed that he was the spirit of a person who had been slain in battle.”

Lucian, in his *Philopseudes*, gives us a view of the subject as it

⁴ These citations show that “demon” does not necessarily imply an evil spirit. A demon may be good as well as bad. Homer calls his *gods* demons, and “*daimonios*” is often equivalent to “godlike.” The succeeding quotations confirm this. See also Stanley’s *Philosophy*, p. 428, *folio ed.*, and Farmer on *Demoniacs and the Worship of Human Spirits*, who has illustrated this point with much learning and research.

⁵ Cary’s *Herodotus*, iv. 79. The Greek is exactly the same with that of the New Testament.

stood in the popular belief in his day, A.D. 150. One of the disputants in the dialogue, gives a particular account of a person who had cast out demons, and declares that he had himself witnessed the operation, and seen a demon cast out. "Many others beside you," says another, "have met with demons; I have a thousand times seen such things." And, as proof, he says that he and his family had seen a statue so possessed by a demon, as to come down from its pedestal and walk about the house!⁶ And then, to convince the unbelieving disputant, Tychiades, Diognetus challenges him to go to Corinth, and he will show him the very house from which he himself had cast out a demon which had disturbed it, and "which was the spirit of a dead man."⁷

IV. The next thing to be noted is this: It was believed, as the quotation from Lucian shows, that these evil demons could be expelled by certain religious rites and ceremonies. And this superstition was taken advantage of by priests and magicians who derived a considerable revenue by pretending to deliver these diseased persons from the power of the demon, or in other words by casting him out through the power of their charms and incantations. Those afflicted with the "sacred diseases" as they were called, palsy, epilepsy, apoplexy, insanity, and other strange disorders, supposed to be inflicted by the demons possessing them, flocked to these imposters, and paid them liberally to employ their enchantments in driving out the evil spirits.

To such an extent was this carried that *Hippocrates*, the father of medicine, even as early as B.C. 450, wrote a book on the subject. In this work he shows that these diseases were no more sacred than any others; that is, that demons or evil spirits had nothing to do with them; that they were natural disorders, and subject to the control of medical skill, and could be cured by proper medical treatment. And he declares boldly that all those who were desirous of concealing their ignorance of the real nature of these diseases by declaring them to be "divine" and "sacred," were nothing more than blockheads and charlatans.

In closing it may be well to remark that in Greece, in Egypt and in the East, the possession with demons, and their expulsion, are common things even at this day. A writer in the *Baptist Christian Review* for April, 1860, says:

⁶ Why not, if tables can be made to walk about, as is affirmed, in these days? Why cannot a statue come down, if a table can go up? What is the essential difference in theory between the demonism of the Greek mythology, and that of modern spiritualism?

⁷ Existence of a Personal Devil, pp. 37-48.

"Not many years ago an intelligent and well-educated Greek, a native of the island of Cyprus, who was by no means inclined to superstition, but rather to rationalism, remarked to us in a conversation on the demoniacal possessions referred to in Scripture, that similar cures were by no means uncommon in that island; and that they were cured sometimes, but not always, by the exorcisms of the priests."

Of course one of two things is certain, either that these people are not possessed, or that Greek priests can cast out the devils. They are, of course, simply diseased, epileptics, or insane, and can sometimes be cured, and sometimes not, according to the severity of the disease, as in the time of Hippocrates. Yates says:

"I have often been myself applied to in Syria and other places, to cast out a devil; by which I merely understood that I was to cure the bodily ailments of the individual, not that I was expected to perform a miracle on the occasion, further than that the cure of every disease is ascribed by the natives to talismanic influence. Perhaps, however, the expressions may be more fully applicable to those complaints which have a marked effect on the mind, and which are of a serious and more permanent nature."

Here, in the neighborhood from which the New Testament comes, we have the same bodily and mental diseases, and the cure described in the same language as in the days of the Saviour, "casting out a devil" — and yet no well informed person supposes that demons or evil spirits have anything to do with them. But why not now if they ever had?

The author of this statement is doubtless wrong in supposing that the natives regard these infirmities as ordinary diseases. They unquestionably believe, as firmly as their ancestors did in the time of Christ, that they are caused by demons; but what educated or intelligent person believes so? But let us take another extract from the same work:

"Of the existence of good and bad spirits, the major part of the inhabitants have no doubt whatever; and they conceive the H'adjs and others who are distinguished for their supposed piety, may invoke and expel them if they will. We read of persons "possessed with devils," and of the "casting out of devils," as common among the Jews and other oriental nations, from the earliest period; and the idea

* In his lecture for Monday, Jan. 29, 1882, Joseph Cook, speaking of the "magic, sorcery and demoniacal possessions" of India, says that he asked the "veteran missionaries whether they believed there was any such thing in that country, and found that in about seven cases out of ten these veteran students of paganism say they do believe in demoniacal possession, and that they can distinguish such cases from cases of disease; but about three out of ten have told me that such cases collapse on investigation."

is even now so prevalent in Egypt, Persia and Arabia, that it is acted upon on almost all occasions. We are frequently told that a man who is sick has got a devil, particularly if his complaint has withstood the superstitious mummery and prayers of some Mohammedan saint, who having failed to relieve the patient's suffering by miraculous agency, has in his wisdom pronounced him incurable, for that the curse of Allah is upon him."⁹

These examples are sufficient to show that in Greece, Syria and the East, possession with devils, and casting out devils, is an everyday affair. And how far we are to accept this language in its literal sense, and not as descriptive of mental and physical infirmities, the reader can judge. But one thing is certain, there is just as much reason for supposing that these diseases are caused by devils now, as that they were eighteen hundred years ago, in the time of Christ.

"History of the Christian Church."

The second and third volumes of Dr. Schaff's great work, bearing the above title, have come to hand since our last issue. We have waited for them with a good deal of interest and expectation, feeling quite confident that the Universalist Fathers of the 3d and 4th centuries would get better treatment from him than they received at the hands of Dr. Shedd, who was either himself ignorant of the facts, or was resolved that his readers should be. Dr. Schaff is Orthodox, but he is conscientious and just as a historian, and means to state the facts as he finds them, without regard to current sectarian controversies. We regard his history as one of the ablest, fairest, most learned, and most complete which has appeared in the English tongue. Its excellencies are many, and important. Though compact, it goes thoroughly into all the leading critical questions touching the origin and composition of the N. T. books, and shows a complete mastery of the whole field of literature regarding his subject. Every point is discussed with candor, and with an evident determination to do justice to both sides, even when, because of his orthodox boarings, he fails to accomplish this fully. He is conservative here; as in his treatment of the current radical criticism, but he conceals nothing.

In his introduction to the second volume he says; "We live in an age of discovery and research, similar to that which preceded the Reformation. The beginnings of History, the beginnings of Civilization, the beginnings of Christianity, are now absorbing the attention

⁹ Yates's Modern History and Condition of Egypt, vol. i. 386-339; vol. vii. 77.

of Scholars. During the present generation, early Church History has been vastly enriched by new sources of information, and almost revolutionized by independent criticism. My endeavor has been to bring the book up to the present advanced state of knowledge, to record every important work (German, French, English and American), which has come under my notice, and to make the results of the best scholarship of the age available and useful to the rising generation." From his account of recent discoveries in Biblical literature we take the following, which we are quite sure will interest all our readers, and discover to them the large additions of material which the last few years have furnished to the ecclesiastical historian:

"The *Syriac Ignatius*, which opened a new chapter in the Ignatian controversy so closely connected with the rise of Episcopacy and Catholicism; the *Philosophumena of Hippolytus*, which have shed a flood of light on the ancient heresies and systems of thought, and on the disciplinary and doctrinal commotions in the Roman church in the early part of the 3d century; the *Tenth Book of the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*, which supplements our knowledge of a curious type of distorted Christianity in the Post Apostolic age, and furnishes, by an undoubted quotation, a contribution to the solution of the Johannean problem; the *Greek Hermas*, from Mt. Athos; a new and complete Greek manuscript of the *First Epistle of the Roman Clement* with several important new chapters, and the oldest written Christian prayer (about one-tenth of the whole), found in a Convent library at Constantinople; and in the same codex the *Second* (so called) *Epistle of Clement*, or post-Clementine Homily rather, in its complete form (20 chapters instead of 12), giving us the first post-apostolic sermon, besides a new Greek text of the epistle of *Barnabas*; a *Syriac Version of Clement*, now at Cambridge; fragments of *Tatian's Diatessaron*, with *Ephraem's Commentary* on it, in an Armenian version; fragments of the *Apologies of Melito and Aristides*; the complete Greek text of the *Acts of Thomas*; and the crowning discovery of all, the *Codex Sinaiticus*, the only complete uncial MS of the Greek Testament, together with the Greek *Barnabas* and the Greek *Hermas*."

This list of literary treasures, to which he might have added *Bar-danes' Dialogue on Fate*, will show, as we said, what advantages this history of Dr. Schaff has over those written before these long lost manuscripts were brought to light; and the reader will discover that he has made good use of all the new material, and has brought his work up to the present advanced state of knowledge, and made the results of the best scholarship of the age available and useful to the new generation of students in Biblical and Church history. And with the knowledge we have of various works in this department,

and what we have learned from our examination of these volumes, we should not hesitate a moment in saying to one asking counsel in the matter — If you cannot purchase but one Church history, by all means choose this work of Dr. Schaff. And in saying this we do not ignore the differences nor overlook the merits of Neander, Mosheim, and other general and partial histories. On certain points some of these may be more complete — as Neander, for example, on philosophical and speculative theology, the heresies, the origin and growth of special dogmas — but after all we doubt if the average student will carry away from his reading of them so clear and intelligible a notion of the points involved as he will get from Schaff.

Another point worth notice is the use which is made in this work of the important revelations of the Catacombs (Chapt. VII. Vol. II.) and of the recent careful studies made of the rude but expressive pictures, sculptures and epitaphs from the graves of the martyrs, which reflect so much light upon the life and beliefs of the first three centuries. It is probable too from the monumental inscriptions that Polycarp was put to death in A. D. 155 instead of A. D. 167, and as he was eighty-six years old at his martyrdom, he must have been born in 69, a year before the destruction of Jerusalem, and thus he must have enjoyed many years' intimacy with the apostle John, of whom he was the personal friend and pupil. This adds weight to his testimony concerning apostolic traditions and writings. Of course these historical discoveries and rectifications add value and freshness to the work, and strength to the Christian argument.

But we must hasten to speak of Dr. Schaff's record regarding the early Universalism of the Church. We are somewhat surprised at his statement that "Origen was the first Christian Universalist." He certainly cannot deny that Clement of Alexandria was a Christian ; and we do not see how he can deny his Universalism ; and yet in his account of Clement's writings and teaching he makes no mention of it. The learned and orthodox Daille says, "It is manifest throughout his works that Clement thought all the punishments of God are salutary, and for the purpose of instruction and reformation, even the torments which the damned in hell suffer." Archbishop Potter, Neander, and others take the same view. And Clement himself, who certainly knew what he believed, says the same thing : "God's justice is of itself nothing but goodness, for it conduces to the improvement of the sinful. Punishment is in its operation like medicine, restoring its subject to a sound and healthful state. It is

the office of salutary justice to exalt everything towards the best state of which it is capable. The chastisements of the great Judge, who regards all with benignity, make mankind grieve for their sins and imperfections, and advance them through the various states of discipline to perfection." See Dr. Ballou's *Ancient History of Universalism*, where there is much more which Dr. Schaff ought to have read before saying that Origen was the *first* Christian Universalist." And did he forget the Universalism of the *Sibylline Oracles*, portions of which date back to A. D. 150?

We do not think he does justice to the freedom and positiveness with which Origen teaches and defends Universalism;¹ but he does ample justice to his "industry and purity of character," his "genius and learning," "the influence he exerted on his age," and the immense service which he rendered to Christianity as principal of the theological school at Alexandria, as the founder of scientific criticism, as the "exegetical oracle" of the Church, who "did more than all his enemies combined to advance the cause of sacred learning, to refute and convert the heathens and heretics, and to make the church respected in the eyes of the world." In speaking of Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, a disciple of Origen, p. 334, he says :

"Gregory adopts the doctrine of the final restoration of all things. The plan of redemption is in his view absolutely universal, and embraces all spiritual beings. Good is the only positive reality; evil is the negative, the non-existent, and must finally abolish itself, because it is not of God. Unbelievers must indeed pass through a second death, in order to be purged from the filthiness of the flesh. But God does not give them up, for they are his property, spiritual natures allied to him. His love, which draws pure souls easily and without pain to itself, becomes a purifying fire to all who cleave to the earthly, till the impure element is driven off. As all comes forth from God, so must all return into him at last." "Universal salva-

¹ Dr. Schaff before writing on this point should have made himself a little more familiar with modern Universalist literature. He would not have said that Origen taught the Restoration "as a speculation rather than as a dogma," nor would he have said that it was a *youthful* speculation, and that "in his later writings there are only faint traces of it," if he had read Dr. Ballou's "Ancient History of Universalism." We trust that, before his next edition, he will at least read the Note on page 95, which gives references to Origen's later works, even that "Against Celsus," written about A. D. 249, *only four years before his death* — and also the note on pages 98 — 100, where are cited a *portion* of the passages which Origen quotes from the Scriptures to *prove* Universalism. Such an array of *proofs* ought not to be called by the name of *speculation*, and if he will read the *note* on page 83, he may modify his statement that Origen taught "the constant succession of fall and redemption." Dr. Sawyer has shown there that he probably held to a final permanent condition of holiness, beyond all contingencies of free-will.

tion (including Satan) was clearly taught by Gregory of Nyssa, a profound thinker of the school of Origen."

This frank statement is in marked contrast with the *very* informing history of Dr. Shedd, who finds in Gregory only "*faint traces*" of a lief in the remission of punishments in the future world. Of course we do not expect Dr. Shedd or Dr. Schaff, or any orthodox historian to enter into any elaborate exhibition of the Universalism of the early church, but we have a right to expect, nay to demand, that if they are writing *history* they shall write in all fairness and honesty, and state the facts exactly as they find them in their authorities.

Of Didymus the Blind, b. about A. D. 309, Dr. Schaff says, he was "the last great teacher of the Alexandrian Catechetical school, where he labored for nearly sixty years, a faithful follower of Origen, and a participant of his peculiar views concerning the pre-existence of souls, and probably concerning final restoration." *Probably?* If it were not a pretty certain thing that he believed this, why was he condemned for his Universalism by the orthodox Councils of A. D. 544, 649, 680, 780, and finally of 869, being classed with Origen, Theodore of Mopsuestia and others? Verily the advocates of endless punishment gave themselves a great deal of trouble for a mere probability.

Dr. Schaff frankly declares that Universal salvation was clearly taught, from an exegetical stand point, by the eminent Antiochian divines, Diodorus of Tarsus (died 394), and Theodore of Mopsuestia (died 429), and many Nestorian bishops. In the West also at the time of Augustine (died 430,) there were, as he says, "*multitudes* who did not believe in eternal punishment." In a note he says that "Nitzsch includes Gregory Nazianzen, and possibly Chrysostom among Universalists;" and adds that Chrysostom honored the memory of Origen, and eulogized his Teacher Diodorus, of Tarsus, "and his comments on 1 Cor. 15: 28, *look toward an apokatastasis*" — universal restoration.

Contrast this fair notice of the Antiochian school of Universalism and Dr. Beecher's ample and manly statement of all the facts in the case, with Dr. Shedd's assertion that "the *only* exception to the belief in the eternity of future punishment in the ancient Church appears in the Alexandrian school" — and only "*faint traces*" at that, with the exception of Origen.

In section 157 of vol. II. the author gives a statement of views held concerning "Future Punishment," distributing them under three

heads: 1. *Everlasting Punishment*, 2. *Annihilation*; 3. *Final Restoration* of all to holiness and happiness. On this last, after mention of the above named facts, he adds that Universalism was one of the Origenistic errors condemned under the emperor Justinian in A. D. 543, and here he corrects the common error, that it was the 5th General Council, held in the year 553, which condemned Universalism; and states that Hefele has conclusively proved that this was done by a local Synod of Constantinople in 543.²

"Since that time (he says) Universalism was regarded as a heresy, but is tolerated in Protestant churches as a private speculative opinion or charitable hope; at least in the Lutheran church of Germany and in the church of England. Bengel very cautiously intimates the apokatastasis, and the Pietists of Wurtemberg generally hold it. Among recent divines Schleiermacher, the Origen of Germany, is the most distinguished Universalist. A denomination of recent American origin, the Universalists, have a creed of three articles called the Winchester Confession (1803), and one article teaches the ultimate restoration of 'the whole family of mankind to holiness and happiness.'"

In speaking of *Everlasting Punishment*, he says, "This always was and always will be the orthodox theory." "*Always will be*," dear doctor, is rather bold, even for a prophet, in view of what changes have taken place in the ranks of Orthodoxy within a few years. In a note to this he enters into a labored argument in proof of this dogma; and thus falls into the fault sometimes committed by Mr Alger in his "History of the Doctrine of a Future Life"—sinking the historian in the controversialist. What we want of a historian is not a defence of any dogma, but a simple statement of its origin, development, and influence, and by whom it was held. In regard to the Jewish belief in the time of Christ concerning *Gehenna* and endless punishment, he opposes Farrar, Deutsch, etc., and sides with Pusey and Weber. Besides, he says the doctrine is endorsed by the Savior; and cites Matt. xii: 32 ("the unpardonable sin"); xxvi. 24 ("Judas had better never been born"); xxv. 46 ("eternal punishment contrasted with eternal life"); Mark ix. 48 ("Gehenna where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched"). Then he says, "In the light of these solemn declarations we must interpret the passages of Paul (Rom. v. 12 *et seq.*; xiv. 9; 1 Cor. xv. 22, 28), which look towards universal restoration." But does not the good Doctor see

² By a slip of memory he says in vol. III. p. 922, *note*, that Didymus was condemned at the 5th general council in 553. He was condemned by the same Constantinople synod which condemned Origen, A. D. 543.

that this sort of argument is as valid with us as with him? Suppose we quote Rom. v.: "the free gift came upon all men"; John xii.: "I will draw all men unto me"; Titus ii.: "the grace of God which bringeth salvation to all men"; 1 Cor. xv.: "God all in all"; Rom. xi.: "for of him, and through him, and to him are all things"—and add, "In the light of these positive declarations we must interpret those passages which speak of "eternal punishment," "unpardonable sin, unquenchable fire," etc. With an independent inquirer would not the argument weigh as much in the one case as in the other?

Dr. Schaff confesses in regard to *αἰῶνος* that "the argumentative force lies *not in the etymological and independent meaning of the word, which is limited to an æon*"; and honorably refers the reader to the Excursus of Taylor Lewis on "*Olamic and Æonian words in Scripture*" in Lange's Commentary on "Ecclesiastes." In reference to *Annihilationism* in the early Church, he is inclined to think that Irenæus and Justin Martyr did, after all, believe in endless punishment. Of Irenæus he says, however, that it is very doubtful what he believed on this point; and adds:

"In the fourth Pfaffian fragment ascribed to him (Stieren I.), 889 he says that 'Christ will come at the end of time to destroy all evil—*πάν τὸ κακὸν*—and to reconcile all things—*εἰς τὸ ἀποκαταλλάξαι τὰ πάντα*, from Col. i. 20—that there may be an end of all impurity.' This passage, like 1 Cor. xv. 28 and Col. i. 20, looks toward universal restoration rather than annihilation, but admits, like the Pauline passages, of an interpretation *consistent* with eternal punishment. See the long note in Stieren."

All but the *consistent*, for if such language means anything that can be forced into harmony with endless punishment, then, as Talleyrand says, words are only an agency for concealing our thoughts. We remark, in passing, that this rather important passage *seems to have escaped* the researches of Dr. Ballou and his editors.

In his account of the early heretics Dr. Schaff is sufficiently full, and very clear, in his sketches of their doctrines; though he forgets to mention the Universalism of the Valentinians, Basalidians, Carpocratians, and other sects. We mention this because on some points these heretics, so called, were much nearer the Truth than the Orthodox, so called; however absurd and extravagant they were on other speculative points. But we must come to a pause, which we do with repeating that, taken as a whole, this "History of the Christian Church" seems to us the most complete, impartial, and satisfactory of any yet published in English. The chapters on the beginnings of

Christianity, the organization and polity of the Church, doctrines, controversies, heresies, religious usages, worship, persecutions, the relations of Christians to the heathen, to the government and laws, to the philosophers and the literary classes, are all written with scholarly care, and with the purpose, everywhere apparent, of giving all questions a fair hearing.

Vol. I., Apostolic Christianity, A. D. 1-100, pp. 870 ; Vol. II., Ante-Nicene Christianity, A. D. 100-325, pp. 877 ; Vol. III., Nicene and Post-Nicene Christianity, A. D. 311-600, pp. 1050. \$4.00 each. Charles Scribner's Sons.

Woman in Ancient Egypt.

Sometime since we came upon an article in the "Christian Review" on "Woman in Ancient Egypt," which contains some interesting facts regarding the domestic, social and legal position of woman in this ancient empire. And if, as is so often asserted, the degree of a nation's civilization must be measured by the degree of reverence and consideration shown toward woman, then the palm must be awarded to the Egyptians, at least so far as respects her legal status and rights of property. She was the equal of her husband before the law, held property in her own right, transacted business independently, and did not hesitate to defend her rights if assailed by him.

One fact mentioned in the extract below deserves special notice, viz: that daughters even were allowed to take action against the father if he attempted to alienate the family property — as, for example, in favor of a second wife — an abomination which Massachusetts permits, since where the deceased wife's property is wholly personal, and she leaves no will, *he* becomes sole heir to the exclusion of the children! He can therefore — and he has done it — marry again and transfer all his, or rather *their* property to the second wife, thus leaving his children beggars. Let the women of Massachusetts take counsel of their sisters in Egypt three thousand years ago, and seek the abolition of this piece of barbarism from our laws — or at least be sure that they execute their wills in season, and make the future of their children secure.

But we turn from this to the paragraph from the article named, which follows below, and which suggests some things worth *thinking* about, at least:

"The title to the possession of any property his father might bequeath was assigned before the marriage to the expected firstborn son,

while the wife's dowry was secured to her. By this management it often happened that the wife inherited her husband's whole fortune as her sole property, for the wife had the free disposal of all land, goods, or money that came to her by gifts or legal transfers. She could assert her right to any portion of her property against her own husband, as well as against any other person. She made loans to her husband, often on such hard terms that he was at last forced to give up to her his entire fortune. She was permitted to control the latter without any restriction, like anything else that had legally come into her possession. She could in this case buy or sell land and houses without asking her husband's permission, or even against his will. Nay, the power of the wife and mother extended so far that if there were sons, and the husband was diminishing the family property, the wife was permitted to enter a protest in her children's favor. As soon as the wife had given him male heirs the father was only looked upon as the steward and representative of the latter's property, and if he wanted to sell his house could only do so in the name of his sons. Even daughters were permitted to enter a protest, and actually did so, if the father allowed himself to be induced to alienate the family property — for instance, in favor of a second wife."

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. Kadesh-Barnea. Its Importance and Probable Site, with the Story of a Hunt for It, including Studies of the Route of the Exodus and the Southern Boundary of the Holy Land. By H. Clay Trumbull, D.D., Editor of the *Sunday School Times*. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$4.00.

This volume, so generous and beautiful in all its appointments, will prove intensely interesting to the Biblical student, and to all who understand how largely the historical credibility of the Book of Exodus is involved in the accuracy of its geographical details. As the author remarks, the location of Kadesh-Barnea may seem a small subject for a large book; but when its importance forty centuries ago is considered, being in a measure the pivotal point on which the world's history then turned, and when it is remembered that for nearly two thousand years its site has been in dispute among Jews and Christians, the question takes on a different look. From this point of view to settle definitely its locality, and so make intelligible the after movements of the Israelitish host, becomes a most important and interesting matter — and this Dr. Trumbull certainly seems to have accomplished, and that beyond question. For, even if the Arabs had conspired to deceive him, it is not possible to believe that Nature could, on the demand of the moment, have gotten up such a perfect counterfeit, and one apparently so admirably fitted to explain the many geographical problems involved.

In laying open his subject, the author first sets out the importance of the place, and the Bible indications of its site; which is followed by a collection of references to it in the Egyptian records, the Apocrypha, the Rabbinical writers, and the Early Christian Name Lists. Then he reviews the attempts at identifying the place from the time of the Crusades, including the mistakes of such men as Shaw, Pococke, Burckhardt and others, down to Robinson and Rowlands. At this point he

reviews the controversy between the last-named, showing the topographical errors of Robinson, his injustice toward Rowlands, and the somewhat arrogant treatment of his discoveries, which after all Dr. Trumbull's investigations have fully verified. Next comes the story of the "Hunt," and the series of fortunate and favoring circumstances which enabled him, when seemingly on the point of failure, to recover the "lost site." This narrative of sixty pages is the chapter of the book, and the point at which the interest culminates; and he must be dull indeed who does not enter into the enthusiasm of the good Doctor, and share in his joy, when he drank from the wells of Kadesh, and rested in its welcome shade, ("with the music of the brook and bees and birds sounding pleasantly in our ears"), and thought drifted back to the scenes enacted there four thousand years ago.

The Route of the Exodus is next taken up, and many things are partially, at least, cleared up, and others put in a hopeful way of being reconciled. The careful Biblical reader has noticed the difference between Exodus xv. 22 and Numbers xxxiii. 8; the first of which says the Israelites went out from Egypt "into the wilderness of Shur," the second that they went into "the wilderness of Etham." This apparent conflict has troubled Bible commentators and Egyptian scholars; but if our author is correct in saying that "Etham is another name for the *Great Wall of Egypt*," the difficulty disappears at once. It is matter of surprise that the remarkable facts adduced in this connection have never before been formulated into a solution of the problem. Ebers seems to have discovered the key to it, but made no use of it. It would appear that an immense wall, or line of fortification, like the Chinese Wall, extended on the northeastern frontier of Lower Egypt along the edge of the Wilderness, and "the Hebrews called it indifferently by their own pure Hebrew name, 'Shur (the Wall) which is before Egypt,' and by the Hebraized-Egyptian name, 'Etham (the Fortifications) at the edge of the Wilderness.'" So the desert just beyond this great Wall was known indifferently as the "wilderness of Shur," or "the wilderness of Etham." Dr. Trumbull has handled this question, and the whole subject of the Exodus, with eminent ability and scholarship; and he has certainly thrown much light on some of the difficulties of the route, and made valuable suggestions which will command the respectful attention of all interested in Biblical interpretation.

So as travel and exploration proceed in their work, the story of the Hebrew Exodus from Egypt and the wanderings in the desert, asserts more and more positively its historical integrity. The starting point in Egypt, *Succoth* or *Pithom*, is placed beyond doubt by the recent discoveries of Naville; and now we have clearly identified this most important station in the wilderness, Kadesh, near the entrance to the Promised Land. Their encampment by the sea is pretty well established, and the spot from which the Law was given. And the general direction of the march to Sinai, and through the Wilderness, is slowly lifting out of the mist into the light.

The list of authorities consulted and *studied* will show the extent and patience and thoroughness of his labors; the Map is a helpful and intelligent guide to the understanding of the text in many cases: and as a book of Eastern travel it is among the best and most instructive of any yet issued having the same purpose in view.

2. Martin Luther. A Study of the Reformation, By Edwin G. Mead. Geo. H. Ellis. \$1.00.

By all means read this book, if you would see Luther in undress.

We have had him, of late, in all his principal parts, as leader, reformer, preacher, Bible-translator, pamphleteer, etc. : and this book, by help of his "Letters" and "Table-talk," and private records, shows us the *man*; his weakness as well as strength, his impatience of interference, his irritability, coarseness, and contempt and denunciation for all who differed from him — not forgetting, however, his virtues and noble traits of character, his loving home-life, his courage, and his great service to the cause of religious freedom.

With all that has been said of his faith, piety and humility, it will startle some to hear him talk in this style: Aristotle, "that damned, arrogant, rascally old heathen"; Henry VIII., a "liar and a rascal"; the pope "a jackass," "the papal sow," etc.; Erasmus was "the vilest miscreant that ever disgraced the earth," "Christ's most bitter enemy," "a venomous serpent," "an accursed wretch," and "whenever I pray, I pray for a curse upon Erasmus," etc.; princes have mostly "been great rascals, with hearts of stone and heads of brass, and I advise them to go to hell."

Of himself he says, "He who does not receive my doctrine is damned!" and again, "He who believes otherwise than I is a child of hell; and whosoever condemns my doctrine him will God condemn, for my mouth is the mouth of Christ." Here we have the other side of the man — and yet, with all his bitterness, coarseness and towering conceit, he was Luther — the one man only who could do the work that needed to be done in those days. His treatment of the Bible was equally bold and independent. The Epistle of James, because it teaches justification by works, "is an epistle of straw. I will not have it in my Bible among the canonical books," "it has no character of gospel in it;" Jude "is indisputably an extract from the 2d Epistle of Peter;" the Apocalypse "I hold to be neither apostolic, nor prophetic — my spirit cannot acquiesce in the book," "let each man judge of the book according to the light that is in him"; Proverbs "is not the work of Solomon;" and Genesis — "What matters it if Moses did not write it!" "I will have none of Moses and his law, for he is an enemy of Christ;" "I am so great an enemy to the 2d Book of Maccabees and to Esther that I wish they had not come to us at all." The Tübingen and Dutch schools date back more than 300 years.

Mr. Mead does full justice to the labors of Luther, compares him with Zwingle and Calvin, and shows why Calvinism had so much the start of Lutheranism in England, France and our own country. He refers to his work in the education of the people, and the good service done for the German language. And he honors the man for his assertion of the individual conscience, and for setting the power of the State above that of the Church. The book is eminently readable, and much of it will be new to those not familiar with the "Table Talk."

3. *Body and Will. Being an Essay concerning Will in its Metaphysical, Physiological and Pathological Aspects.* By Henry Maudsley, M.D., author of "Physiology of the Mind," "Responsibility in Mental Disease" etc. D. Appleton & Co.

The object of this elaborate and professionally learned volume is to demonstrate that the Will, in its metaphysical, or moral and religious definitions as something distinct from the physical organization, is a fiction: and hence that the "freedom of the will," so much talked about by the theologian and the Christian metaphysician, is an absurdity scarcely worth the notice of a philosophical student of medicine, or a practical surgeon who understands the nature and capabilities of nerves. The author has studied the will in its physiological and evolutionary re-

lations or aspects, and gives the reader the results of interesting and curious experiments upon the nervous structure of animals, and of very extended observations of the effects of bodily disease upon mental action and the moral sense.

The eminent ability of Dr. Maudsley, his large practice, and the valuable character of his experiences in the treatment of mental diseases, are admitted of all. We have commended his books, especially that on "Responsibility in Mental Disease," as important aids to physicians, legislators, and all having charge of insane persons; and we can readily understand and appreciate the reasons for writing them. But we do not understand the motive which prompts the writing of this book. We cannot see what good the author or the reader is to get from it. We cannot at all appreciate the purpose of a man who labors through more than three hundred octavo pages to prove that we, himself included, are only an aggregation of matter, a bundle of nerves and brain substance; that *will*, *mind*, *soul* are only names. the dreams of the theologian and the believer in immortality; that the individual, and by and by the race, will become extinct, perish utterly from life, leaving only some dust and ashes as reminders of their having lived — with nobody left to be reminded — neither man nor God!

The sun will eventually be extinguished, the earth freeze up, and then life will fail — it has already begun to fail in the arctic zone — and the inevitable end is a world undone, that is, "become inorganic in the reverse way of that by which it became organic." Evolution has its limits, and when it has attained them, then everything goes back again into chaos. "A few scattered families, living perhaps in snow-huts near the equator, very much as the Esquimaux live now near the pole, will represent the last wave of the receding tide of human existence before its final extinction; until at last a frozen earth incapable of cultivation is left without energy to produce a living particle of any sort, and so death itself is dead!"

Dr. Maudsley seems pleased with this dismal result, and ready to applaud himself for his supposed proof of it; as the evangelical clergy applauded Joseph Cook when they thought he had proved that a large portion of mankind will be endlessly damned. We cannot imagine what kind of satisfaction or comfort any one can take in the belief that this is to be the end of things — an utter, universal blank. For our author's argument, if good for man on the earth, is equally good for all other beings and worlds. And indeed he does not shrink from this conclusion; he has no faith in any kind of spiritual being, whether of God or man, distinct from matter: and when other worlds and their inhabitants have run their rounds, they must end in the same way, in universal death and negation.

And we ask again, Why does Dr. Maudsley write a book to prove this — prove that all the activities which keep the world astir; all the splendid intellectual triumphs that have revealed the capabilities of man, and the splendid possibilities of his future, if only he can have a future: all the divine affections and hopes, and noble aspirations and endeavors which have glorified and blessed his life on earth, are to sink into silence and dust and nothingness! Suppose he succeeds in convincing his readers that this *is* the end of all things; that will, spirit, and immortality are words without meaning or substance, and so crushes out all their belief and hope of the future — what then? Has he done any good to them or to himself, and has he made them more gentle, or charitable, or hopeful, or loving? has he given them moral courage, strength to resist temptation, and victory over death? We venture to

say No to these questions, and we do not believe he will say Yes. What then is his motive in writing this book? If we should find a man asleep, whose waking hours were full of pain, and grief, and anguish of mind, and we knew by the murmured words from his lips and the pleasant smile upon his face, that he was in a happy dream, we would not rudely arouse him, shouting, "Here! here! wake up; you are dreaming, and there is nothing in a dream, it's all nonsense - wake up." Why disturb him? His dream does us no harm, and is a comfort to him; and why should we wake him, and worry him with a learned scientific argument about the brain and the nerves, to convince him that a dream is nothing?

We do not like the spirit in which Dr. Maudsley writes this book, so unlike that in which his other books are written. There is an air of lofty superiority, and a constant sneer at theologians and religious believers, running through all the argument, which is equally beneath the dignity of the scientist and the gentleman. We have no more sympathy with the absurdity of orthodox creeds than he has; but courtesy, and respectful treatment of those who disagree with us, are never out of place.

4. *Memoir of Rev. Charles Lowe.* By his wife, Martha Perry Lowe. Cupples, Upham & Company. \$1.75.

Mr. Lowe's name has long been familiar to us, and though we had no personal acquaintance with him, for years we followed his work as agent of the Unitarian Association and founder and Editor of the Unitarian Review, and often were moved to admiration of his conscientious and untiring devotion to duty, his sincere natural piety, his excellent judgment, and his sure success in all his denominational and literary enterprises. This memoir, written with so much wisdom and tenderness, shows us what we did not know, that his work almost from the beginning, as pastor, as agent of the Association, and as Editor of the Review, was done under the wearing burden of bodily weakness and failing health. Both his first pastorates he was compelled to resign because his physical strength and endurance proved unequal to the demands made on him; and before he left the Salem church he had a severe and protracted struggle for life, and for a time it seemed doubtful which way the balance would turn. It is wonderful, as we read of this period, to see how he held to his purpose, and as he grew a little better and his courage rose, how, notwithstanding the burden of pain and weakness, he kept to his work. What pathos in this passage from his Diary:—"Hard at work on my sermon on Regeneration. Shall I ever see the time when sermon-writing will be less difficult? It is real torture, the first day or two, while bringing myself into the subject; and then though I experience sometimes, in writing, a glow of joy, it is generally wearisome and painful." And yet he wrote, and preached and worked until he fainted and fell in the Master's vineyard, overcome with the heat and burden of the day.

It is inspiring to follow this Christian man through all his labors and trials; through controversy with the radical and conservative elements of his denomination in his earnest efforts for the largest fellowship of all sincere souls, for workers rather than talkers; through discouragement, and disappointment, and sickness; through all the painful struggles of a never weary soul with an always weary body—and to note with what a sweet and patient spirit every burden was borne, and with what entire resignation and peace he waited on the will of God, whatever the form in which it might be expressed. And it is instructive to

learn from his own lips, when he was near the end, how he was sustained by his childlike faith in God and the Savior, and made more than conqueror over death. Indeed this word conqueror is not the word which fitly describes the closing scene—there was nothing to conquer, there was no struggle, no conflict, but a ready and willing and cheerful surrender to the wisdom and the goodness of the Divine Father. Few can read the record of his last hours without a heart of thankfulness for the Christian faith. And we can not help asking Dr. Maudsley, whose book we have noticed elsewhere, what this disciple of Christ would gain by exchanging his faith in these last hours for the cold, hard, barren materialism which he seeks to put in its place?

It is not an easy thing for a wife to write the story of a husband's life and labors. There are two difficulties in her way—one that she will unconsciously permit her personal affection to color the narrative too highly; the other that, in her anxiety to avoid this, she may omit many things which would enrich the sketch, and impart pathos, tenderness and warmth. But Mrs. Lowe has escaped both these extremes, and has given us a record of one of the most amiable, and lovable of men, which will equally satisfy those who knew him personally, and those who will only know him through this memoir. We regard the book as one of permanent value, and specially helpful to all ministers who seek conscientiously to do the work of both preacher and pastor.

5. *The National Revision Commentary on the New Testament. Based upon the Revised Version of 1881, by English and American Scholars. Vol. VI. The Epistle to the Romans.* By M. B. Riddle, Prof. of N. T. Exegesis in Hartford Theological Seminary. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.00.

This is the only commentary on the Revised Version, and it is edited by that indefatigable and conscientious scholar, Dr. Philip Schaff. The notes are chiefly drawn from the "Popular Illustrated Commentary," and Dr. Schaff's additional notes on Romans in Lange's Commentary. The volume is helpful in all historical, critical and purely expository matters not involving controverted doctrines; but Paul in this epistle furnishes some hard nuts for Orthodox commentators to crack. Dr. Riddle seems to realize this fact, and it comes out almost comically in the Notes on chapters v. and xi., where it is amusing to see the shifts to which the Doctor is driven in order to maintain his loyalty both to Orthodoxy and to Paul's straight-forward declarations touching the final reconciliation of all souls. Not having room here, we have given examples of this in the "Leader."

6. *Where Did Life Begin? A Brief Enquiry as to the Probable Place of Beginning and the Natural Courses of Migration therefrom of the Flora and Fauna of the Earth.* A Monograph by G. Hilton Scribner. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

This book will probably open the way to some lively discussion among the Scientists, to whom it throws down the glove in very knightly style. The author's theory in brief is set forth in this paragraph from page 17:

"The whole globe was once a molten mass too hot to maintain life. The polar regions were then too hot for that purpose. These same regions are now too cold to maintain such life as we find on other parts of the earth. Nothing, then, can be more obvious than that the temperature of these now frigid zones, in sliding gradually from the first extreme of heat to the last extreme of cold, must have passed slowly through all the grades of temperature and climatic conditions which were exactly suited at one time or another to all the varieties of plants and animals which now live or ever have lived on the earth."

The conclusion therefore is that all life began in the arctic zone, and as the cooling process went on toward the equator, this life, vegetable

and animal, followed it down through the temperate zone and into the tropical. And this theory is maintained with an ingenuity of argument, and a massing of facts, which will surely win the admiration of the reader; and, whether convinced or not, will compel the admission that the author has thought long and well on the subject, and reasons it out with all the severity of logic and statement belonging to a scientific treatise.

7. *The Works of Orville Dewey, D.D. With a Biographical Sketch.* A new and complete edition. American Unitarian Association. \$1.00.

As far back as 1839 we made our first venture, in the old "Expositor," in the way of a regular Book Review—and the work chosen for it was one of those included in this volume: "On Commerce and Business." We well remember the pleasure and the profit derived from the reading of the book, and the enthusiasm with which we wrote in its praise as prophetic of greater breadth and variety in the subjects of pulpit teaching. We heartily welcome this new edition of his sermons and addresses, for they are of permanent value and interest. We entirely agree with the statement that, with the possible exception of Dr. Channing, no person occupied a more prominent position in the early annals of American Unitarianism than Dr. Dewey. A preacher of practical truth to tried and tempted men and women, he had an almost unique power. That discourses preached before the present generation came on the stage should still be in demand, is sufficient proof of their usefulness.

8. *A Day in Athens with Socrates: Translations from the Protagoras and the Republic of Plato.* Charles Scribner's Sons. 50 cts. Paper.

If one would get a vivid picture of the intellectual life of Athens, of Socrates and his contemporaries, of the social, moral, philosophical and political questions discussed by the great philosopher and those whom he encountered, let him read this little volume especially if he has not the time for a thorough reading of all Plato's Dialogues. We have here examples of some of the best of those subtle disputations which have fascinated thoughtful minds in all ages since they were written, and have made the names of both Socrates and Plato famous. An admirable Preface, copious Notes explanatory of the historical allusions, and biographical incident and information concerning the persons introduced, complete the book and add to its interest and educational value.

9. *Appleton's Early Christian Literature Primers.* The Post-Nicene Latin Fathers. By Rev. George A. Jackson. D. Appleton & Co.

This is the fourth volume of this truly excellent series, embracing the period of A. D. 325-590. We have already stated its purpose and leading characteristics, which this new issue fully maintains, completing the original plan of the projector. The leading feature of this volume is the large space given to the works of Augustine, the source from which John Calvin drew much of his inspiration. One third of the book is devoted to this great Master in the Latin church; giving 10 pages from his "Confessions," and 36 from "The City of God," including "Extracts on Eternal Punishment, and on Prayers for the Dead." But when it is remembered how largely Augustine shaped the creed of the church in his own and subsequent ages, and the measure of his influence in the Orthodox sects of to-day, the student of ecclesiastical history will not perhaps regret the opportunity here given of making acquaintance with the thought and style of this great leader.

Beside Augustine we have Pelagius, his chief opponent in the matter of "Free Will," to whom the author has generously given *four* pages, including an extract of thirteen lines! Other Fathers noticed are Ambrose, Jerome, Hilary, Rufinus, Leo the Great, and many of lesser note, including Church Historians, and the Early Latin Christian Poets. The Biographical notes are pleasing and informing, and the Chronological Tables of Emperors, Popes and Writers who were contemporary will prove very handy and useful to students.

10. *Life at Puget Sound, with Sketches of Travel in Washington Territory, British Columbia, Oregon and California. 1866-1881.* By Caroline C. Leighton. Lee & Shepard. \$1.50.

This is a record of travel, which will have for the average reader some fresh and informing sketches of Indian and frontier life, as well as pictures of magnificent scenery in lands at the time wholly unknown to the ordinary traveller. The writer made these journeys and voyages in company with her husband, a government official, sent to visit our North-western possessions; and the most primitive conveyances were employed. They travelled in emigrant wagons drawn by oxen, in Indian canoes, on horseback, and on foot through ancient forests with trees 250 feet in height, and undergrowth so dense that passage had to be cut with axes. And one of the attractions of the narrative is the quiet fearlessness with which Mrs. Leighton faced dangers on sea and on land, from which most men would shrink; and the patient endurance with which she accepted the hardships of travel through these savage regions, where nearly all the conveniences and securities of civilization were absent, and all sorts of wild men and wild beasts were present.

11. *The Consolations of Science, or Contributions from Science to the Hope of Immortality, and Kindred Themes.* By Jacob Straub. With an Introduction by Hiram W. Thomas, D.D., Pastor of the People's Church, Chicago, Ill.

As far as we are able to judge this work is the fruit of much patient thinking, careful reading and generous scientific culture. It is the first of its kind in our denominational literature, and deserves a cordial welcome from all thoughtful and cultivated minds among us, and from that large class of persons who are asking questions regarding the probabilities of a future existence independent of revelation, and who are endeavoring to place science on the stand, and by cross examination draw from her testimony in favor of the Christian doctrine of immortality. Such will find the author of this work a most intelligent and able assistant, thoroughly prepared by long and diligent study of the facts and teachings of Science to show that the tendency of these is towards spiritualism rather than materialism: that Nature joins her forces with those of Religion in strengthening the hope and assurance that the spirit that is in man lives beyond the death of the body—lives endlessly.

As we read his admirably constructed arguments, and ponder his facts industriously gathered from the animate and inanimate world, and through the wondrous disclosures of science transmuted into spiritual facts, we are ready to ask why he has so long hidden his light under a bushel; why he has not before this made some worthy contribution to our literature, helped on the great battle between Doubt and Faith, and hastened the correlation of the forces of Science and Religion. We trust that, having begun the good work, he will continue his contributions on the relations of Science to the great questions of Revelation and Christian Theology.

The reader will understand that the subject is treated in a purely scientific spirit, without any reference to, or help from, the Scriptures. The author's purpose is to ascertain how far Nature, which is the work of God, justifies the belief in immortality; how far Science, without intending it, has, in her more recent achievements in the material realms, furnished facts, the legitimate philosophy and logic of which prophesy the persistence of spiritual as well as physical force, the permanence of mind as well as of matter. After a brief sketch of the probable reasonings and beliefs of the human race in its infancy, and a statement of the doctrines respecting spirits and a future life as held among the early peoples, Egyptians, Chaldeans, Indians, Hebrews and Greeks, he settles down to his work. We can only touch a few points, very briefly.

In scientific circles there is a growing tendency, he thinks, toward the spiritual side of nature. "Properties and forces in nature are seen to disappear from view beyond the senses and the means of physical analysis, transferring their causes as well as effects to regions unknown, and to connect with entities there no less real and substantial than those on the visible plane." The existence of these occult forces is generally admitted by scientists. "There are many," says Prof. Youmans, "who deplore what they regard as the materialistic tendencies of modern science. The reverse is true. The tendency of this kind of inquiry is ever from the material *toward* the abstract, the ideal, the spiritual. From the baldest materiality we rise at last to a truth of the spirit-world of so exalted an order that it has been said to connect the mind of man with the spirit of God." And even Prof. Tyndall says that the process by which the "luminiferous ether" acting on the nerve "is converted into the *conscious* impression of light, science does not even tend to unravel." "It eludes the analysis of science."

Mr. Straub then proceeds to a survey of the mineral, vegetable and animal realms, and with much learning and plausibility of argument endeavors to show that there is an all-pervading *ether* in all these realms, an invisible something which reveals itself by its all-pervading forces, and which, however it may change its form of manifestation, or be modified in its action, is persistent and eternal. Why should man be an exception to this rule? Is there nothing in him, the highest form of organization and life, which survives the change or dissolution of his material part? Here the argument opens out into a wide field in which the author discusses the scientific questions arising with great acumen, and ample proofs and illustrations drawn from natural phenomena, and from the concessions of scientists; and he shows, we think, very clearly that his line of argument is the same as that on which all scientific inquiry proceeds, and on which its greatest achievements have been accomplished.

It is impossible for us to give an adequate idea of the variety and force of the arguments and illustrations employed without writing a book; and so the reader must go himself to these richly laden pages to learn how truly science has been made to do duty in support of the doctrine of a future life. One of the most interesting and convincing chapters is the fourteenth, in which "Man's proper immortality is affirmed by the organic law of his being," the section on "the evidence of Pre-science," drawn from "Natural History," being chiefest. Chapters xv.-xviii. enter upon a discussion respecting the relations of the two worlds, present and future, and the laws and modes of mental intercourse; and here the work enters on somewhat more debatable ground, and has in it more of the speculative element. But the subjects treated are handled in a calm and judicial temper, and while the position that inter-

course between the inhabitants of the two worlds is possible, it is probably very rare. The claims and pretensions in this respect are examined in a severely critical spirit, and many eminent scientific authorities are cited in proof of a possible explanation of most of the psychological phenomena on physiological grounds. Chapter xviii. deserves special attention in this connection. The probable, the improbable, and the impossible in the conditions of the hereafter life; reviewed in chapter xix., are all viewed from the scientific plane of thought, though in a truly religious spirit, which is yet more manifest in the concluding remarks of the next chapter. It is clear enough that the author feels his Christian faith in the reality of the future life fortified by the teachings of science; and appropriates to himself the substantial consolations drawn from his study of the ways of God in Nature, as well as of His word in Revelation.

We trust some one of our writers and students, competent to the task, will give the work a more thorough review than this brief book notice.

12. *Among the Holy Hills.* By Henry M. Field, D.D., author of "On the Desert," etc. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

This is a most pleasing and instructive narrative. To those who contemplate a visit to Palestine it will be a useful and intelligent guide; and those whose circumstances do not allow them this privilege of travel, will find in these pages a means of enjoying many of the pleasures, and of escaping all the annoyances and dangers of such a journey. Dr. Field is a genial travelling companion. He is alive to all the sacred and tender associations of the places visited, and gives utterance to his thoughts and feelings; yet he never worries you with sentimental rhapsody, or pious enthusiasm after the regulation pattern. All is natural, fresh and hearty, winning the cordial sympathy of the reader. The descriptions of the localities and scenes of the Saviour's ministry are pleasingly realistic pictures, and help us to see with his eyes, and to fix them as photographs on the memory.

He has helped on in this book the one good work which Renan began in that religious romance which he called the "Life of Christ," viz: that the gospels of the New Testament are imbedded in the topography and scenery of Palestine; that these sacred narratives breathe everywhere the atmosphere of the mountains and valleys, of the lakes and streams, of the Holy City and villages of Judea, Samaria and Galilee.

We count this as the most useful and informing of Dr. Field's publications — at any rate it has interested us more than any other. How many times in our reading during the last fifty years we have been over the same ground covered by these pages: and yet we have read again with an enjoyment as fresh as of old — partly because of the author's attractive way of telling the story; but chiefly because the subject itself is always new as well as old, always interesting as a record of events which the world can never forget, nor become indifferent to.

13. *Twelve Months in an English Prison.* By Susan Willis Fletcher. Lee & Shepard, \$1.50.

We are not a Spiritualist, using the word as we do the word Orthodox, to represent certain beliefs which are popularly known under that name. But so far as this book is concerned, the arrest, trial, conviction and

imprisonment of its author in England present a sorry picture of English justice (?). Either the book is a tissue of falsehoods from beginning to end, or the trial was an outrage upon the right of every accused person to be heard in his defence. In this volume "the other side" is heard for the first time, and certainly a very strong case is made out in behalf of Mrs. Fletcher, who seems to have been the victim instead of the conspirator.

But there is another story told here — that which reveals the horrors of prison life in England. We had hoped that Mrs. Frye's labors in behalf of prisoners, especially female convicts, had accomplished some permanent good; but her labors and her influence seem utterly forgotten, and the abominations have returned in full force again. The things told in these pages are a foul blot on the civilization of this century, and a burning reproach upon the English government. Where is the Queen of England? Should not her voice be heard here? and would not her enormous private fortune and her vast personal influence be well employed in purging, physically and morally, these devils' dens, and establishing in them some beginnings at least of Christian teaching and helpfulness? We advise the publishers to send her a copy, that she may know what is going on in her prisons — within a stone's throw of her palaces.

14. Creation; or the Biblical Cosmogony in the Light of Modern Science. By Arnold Guyot, author of "Earth and Man." With full-page wood-cuts and lithographic plates. 1 vol., 12mo. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

It was among the last wishes of the distinguished author that this attempt to show the accordance of the sacred narrative with the facts of geological science should be given to the world in its final and perfected form, and to the preparation of this book he gave his latest energies.

The name of Prof. Guyot is sufficient to satisfy the reader that the book is thoroughly learned and scientific, and written in a reverent spirit. It is worth while to know how a Christian man of his acquirements reads the creation chapters of Genesis, and harmonizes them with the latest reliable revelations of science. His conclusion is that "the best explanation science is now able to give, on this great topic, is also that which best explains, in all its details, the first chapter of Genesis, and does it justice." The Creator "unveiled to the eyes of the author of Genesis, by a series of graphic visions and pictures, the earliest ages of creation." Moses was the prophet of the past, as Isaiah was of the future. We commend the book to our clergy, and to all who may be called to answer questions on the subject. It will educate the reader in Geology, as well as in Biblical interpretation. The illustrations are not mere fancy, but based on existing fossils. A single paragraph must suffice in the way of quotation. The *Atlantosaurus* must have been a pleasant beast to have come upon suddenly:

"This family contained the largest types of land animals that have ever existed. The *Hadrosaurus* of New Jersey stood erect, from 20 to 25 feet high. The *Atlantosaurus* of Colorado reached the height of *from 80 to 80 feet (!)*, so that it would be difficult to understand how the strength of its muscles could have supported the weight of its bones, if it was not that the latter had been found hollow, like those of birds." p. 118.

BOOK NOTES.

John Bull and His Island. By Max O'Rell. From the French under the Supervision of the Author. Charles Scribner's Sons. 50 cts. Paper. A book of wit and satire, but also of sharp and serious criticism of some of the horrors of London life among the laboring, dangerous, brutal and perishing classes. It has excited the laughter and provoked the indignation and tears of Foreigners and of some Englishmen. It shows those visiting London for the first time the places and persons of whom they should beware. Three months ago this book had reached its *twentieth* edition in Paris.

Luther. A Short Biography. By James Anthony Froude. 30 cts. Authorized Edition. This is the famous article of Froude's in review of Köstlein's *Life of Luther*, and originally appeared in the *Contemporary Review*. Many who never see the *Review* will be glad to have it in this form.

The Dies Ira. An English Version in Double Rhyme, with an Essay and Notes. By Franklin Johnson. Cambridge, Mass.

Appleton's International Scientific Series. Vol. 47. *Fallacies. A View of Logic from the Practical Side.* By Alfred Sidgwick Berkeley, Fellow of the Owens College, Manchester, Eng. D. Appleton & Co. \$1.75.

Deterioration of the Puritan Stock and its Causes. By John Ellis, M.D. This pamphlet contains many facts and statistics which ought to alarm native New Englanders, and challenge the attention of all lovers of our country. They should be read and pondered, and the causes clearly understood, and some way be found to remedy the evils which, if not remedied in time, will bring a black cloud upon the nation's future. The author is a Swedenborgian, and believes sincerely that the race deterioration which he deprecates will find its check only in the doctrines of the "New Church."

Philosophic Series, No. 5. Locke's Theory of Knowledge, with a Notice of Berkeley. By James McCosh, D.D., LL.D., President of Princeton College. Charles Scribner's Sons. 50 cts.

Sermons on Future Punishment. By Randolph H. McKim, D.D. Thomas Whittaker. 50 cts. We had intended to give this pamphlet an extended review, but its absurd and stupid misrepresentations of Universalism, and its false accusations touching the character and aims of Universalists, belong to a past age, and speak in the dialect of the Orthodoxy of a hundred years ago; and to answer its charges, or to review its scriptural argument would be a waste of time. It has some important citations from the Church Fathers on the doctrine of Annihilationism, to which we may call attention at another time. We do not think the diocese of West Virginia lost much in his failure to attain to the place of Assistant Bishop.

The Book Buyer has been resuscitated by D. Appleton & Co., for which we are glad. It is very useful and helpful to all lovers and purchasers of books. It contains a summary of American and Foreign Literature, with liberal extracts from new publications showing their quality, sketches of distinguished deceased authors, and much desirable and pleasing information on literary subjects — all for 50 cts. a year!

Quotations in the New Testament. By Crawford Howell Toy, Professor in Harvard University. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.50. To be noticed hereafter.

Darwinism as Stated by Himself. Characteristic Passages from his Writings. Selected and Arranged by Nathan Shepherd. D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50. A valuable book for all who really want to know the truth regarding Darwinism, and of which we shall have something more to say.

Flowers and their Pedigrees. By Grant Allen, author of "Vignettes from Nature." D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

All the works noticed under the head of "Contemporary Literature" and "Book Notes" will be found on sale at our Publishing House.

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THOMAS B. THAYER, D.D., EDITOR.



TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ART. XVIII.	DIVINE REVELATION,	161
	Rev. I. C. Knowlton.	
ART. XIX.	HAS CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY A BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD?	176
	O. Cone, D.D., President of Buchtel College.	
ART. XX.	GENERAL LAWS AND SPECIAL PROVIDENCE,	188
	William Tucker, D.D.	
ART. XXI.	NEW ORTHODOXY, OR THE TENDENCY OF SIN TO PERMANENCE. Part III,	196
	Rev. Stephen Crane.	
ART. XXII.	MISSIONARY WORK, AND THE HIGHEST MOTIVES THERE TO,	213
	Richard Eddy, D.D.	
ART. XXIII.	AN OUTLOOK,	225
	Rev. W. S. Woodbridge.	
ART. XXIV.	CHRISTIANITY AND INTELLECTUAL CULTURE,	233
	J. S. Lee, D.D.	
ART. XXV.	THE INTELLECTUAL SUPREMACY OF JESUS CHRIST,	248
	Chaplain G. Collins, U.S.A.	
GENERAL REVIEW.		258
	Demons and Demoniacs Among the Jews in the Time of Christ—Catholicism Again —The Personality of Deity.	
CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.		275
	Toy's Quotations in New Testament—Sheppard's Darwinism—Terry's Bible Hermeneutics—Addis's Catholic Dictionary—Bryennios' Teaching of the Twelve Apostles—Dale's Outskirts of Physical Science—Shedd's Sermons to the Spiritual Man—Corning's Brain Exhaustion—Life of Frederick Denison Maurice.	

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

I. WESTWARD HO!	VIII. THE APPROACH TO THE YO SEMITE.
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III. SAUNTERINGS IN WONDERLAND.	X. THE ORANGE LAND OF CALIFORNIA.
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ARTICLE XVIII.

Divine Revelation.

"It moves." Something is going on. Evolution is at work in the realm of religion. Mental culture is slowly but steadily inducing a higher, broader, purer faith in the minds of all who dare to follow its leading. Protestantism, Puritanism, Methodism, Universalism, that "spectral monster of New England, Transcendentalism," and the "New School" that has branched out from almost every Christian church, are conspicuous examples of deep thinking and religious progress. And the end is not yet reached. The old-time witches are all dead, the troublesome demons have all been cast out, the sepulchral ghosts have all been laid, the hideous night of superstition is far spent, we live in the dawn of a new day, and ought to be ready and willing to do brave and good work in the domain of research and reason.

When, a year ago, "Citizen Joaquim Pecei, by trade or profession Pope, residing and conducting business in the Vatican palace, Rome," received a legal notice to pay his tax to the Italian government, and paid it, and took a receipt from the Collector, even he, the Prince of Conservatism, became aware that the foundations of his throne were insecure, and that his grand old Church, fast anchored for so many centuries, was being cast adrift to float, perhaps, to destruction. And when, more recently, a learned American judge ruled that a bill for praying a sinful soul out of Purgatory, could not be collected without positive proof that said soul had been so prayed out, educated Catholics were made aware that sooner or later credulity must succumb to common sense. We have not and we do not desire a new Bible; but as we read the sacred Scriptures in the languages in which they were written, and by the electric light of Science, we find a revelation undiscovered in the days of Luther and Calvin. There has been an evolution in theology. Bigots may deny it, minor prophets, inspired by hope or fear, may predict the obliteration

of all old landmarks and the utter ruin of the Church ; but the tidal wave of inquiry will roll in, and whenever an error is exposed, a mistake corrected, or a great truth made more manifest, all candid and honest souls will rejoice.

Stimulated by the progressive spirit of our land and age, I have written this article not to controvert old notions nor to introduce new ones, but to point out the broad, strong platform on which all free men in Christ must eventually stand ; and its matter-of-fact ideas are penned in the hope that their perusal may impart strength to the weak and faith to the doubting.

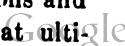
I devoutly believe that a Revelation has come from God to man ; but I distinctly perceive that no such revelation is probable, or even possible, without three prerequisites : 1st, a Being wiser than man ; 2d, such a Being able and willing to communicate with man ; and 3d, man in need of superhuman instruction. Did these prerequisites ever exist ?

The Atheist denying the existence of a Supreme Being does not and cannot believe in a Divine Revelation. But we are not Atheists ; we believe in God, the Creator and Ruler of the universe, who perceives and comprehends all persons, things, laws, needs, ways and means ; and if it can be shown that man needs His assistance, and that He can and desires to help His earthly children, we are prepared to conclude that a Revelation is probable and almost certain to be made. And all this can be shown by solid arguments.

That the Infinite One can, in some way, commune with man, either by audible voice, or spiritual whisper, or mental illumination, or inspiration, intuition, impression, dreams or visions, seems to be a fact involved in His omnipotence. Assuredly, He who made our eyes can see ; who made our ears can hear ; who made our organs of speech can talk ; who made our hands can manipulate the entire keyboard of our thoughts and feelings. In other words, He who gave us the ability to interchange ideas must have the ability to make known to us His ideas. If He cannot do this He is not almighty ; and if not almighty, He is not a

Supreme Being — is not God. But as we believe He is Infinite in power and wisdom, we must also believe that if he pleases He can, at any time and to any person, make a Revelation.

The possibility being admitted, the probability next claims consideration. It is natural for a good father to speak to his children often, kindly and helpfully; and no good father having the opportunity ever neglects to do so. God is good unto all, — is love, is our Father. It is kind to instruct the ignorant, to warn those in danger, and to comfort the afflicted; and from time immemorial man has been ignorant, in danger and afflicted in many ways. Love ever desires to manifest itself to the object beloved. God is love, and therefore He must love His own offspring; and loving them, a manifestation — a Revelation of himself to them, seems inevitable and certain, if, and so far as, such a Revelation is needed by man. We may not know exactly what our forefathers in ancient times needed to be taught from above, but we can easily call to mind many things they did not need to have revealed to them.

1. They did not need to be taught language. It is probable that in the infancy of our race, man did not use or know any words. He was as dumb as an animal. But he had reason, and an ever increasing fund of objective ideas that he desired to express; and their expression was essential to his mental growth and progress. He was not doomed to isolation. Instinctively his vivacious eyes expressed his feelings and wishes, and by looks and signs he began to commune with his fellows. Soon his wonderful organs of speech broke the silence; his spontaneous ejaculations of joy, fear, pain, were readily understood. His tongue was loosed, modulation of tones set in, and various animals were named, just as our children name the cow, sheep, dog and cat, by the utterance of sounds resembling the noises made by the animals themselves. After a time, by accident or otherwise, arbitrary sounds were employed to designate plants, actions and inanimate things. Thus a language was formed that, 

mately developed a copiousness and perspicuity sufficient to satisfy the needs of poets, philosophers and religious teachers. No superhuman aid was needed, and, of course, none was given. Books are the result of a similar, natural development. Man first made pictures; then, idea hieroglyphics; then, phonetic pictures. Gradually these pictures shriveled into the letters of an alphabet, and writing began. Eventually types displaced the copying pen, and books were rapidly multiplied. Thus those mighty, onward and upward strides of the human race — speaking, writing, printing — were not caused by a Divine Revelation. Instead, they are the natural results of the original abilities and tendencies vested in man.

2. Agriculture, the industry absolutely essential to human welfare, was not a Revelation but a discovery. Primitive man saw that corn grew from a seed in the ground; and by observation and experiment, he ultimately learned that by pulverizing and enriching the soil, and keeping down the weeds, the harvest of food would be largely increased. It is a long way from the rude stick with which Cain tilled the soil, up to the complex machinery in use on a prairie farm; but unaided man has made the journey and achieved the triumph.

3. The use of fire to give light, to ward off cold, to cook food, to hollow the boat, to fashion the paddle, the club, the pestle, and in later times to turn the ponderous steam-engine, needed not to be taught by Revelation. The Prometheus that brought fire from heaven was electricity. From the tree ignited by lightning, or from the red hot lava ejected from a volcano, or by rubbing together two dry sticks of wood, man easily kindled his first fire; and what he thus could do, no doubt he did.

4. Art and science came not by Revelation, but by observation, study and experiment. From the first, man has needed raiment, home, toil, and a knowledge of the mechanical arts, to make his physical frame comfortable, and the sublime revealments of science to develop the mind; but he

was left by his Creator to discover, learn and invent as best he could. And nobly has he attended to these duties. No thinker, in our day, believes that God revealed to man the use of iron, or taught him how to make a compass, a telescope, a table of logarithms, a steam-engine or an electrical battery. All we know about the starry heavens, the so-called laws of nature, and the elements of matter, was made known to us by scientists — not by inspired teachers. The vast volume of nature is ever wide open, and unaided man has the ability to read many of its sublime chapters. The Bible does not pretend to teach astronomy, geology or chemistry, nor does it contain a single valuable hint on either of these sciences.

5. The idea of law and duty, of rewards and punishments, came not by Revelation. Among animals, might is right, and impulse and instinct, law ; but man is more than an animal. He is endowed with reason and a rudimentary conscience ; and by these he easily perceives that some deeds are right, and others not right ; and that it is for his good to do the right and not do the wrong. Even the Golden Rule was known by the Gentiles before the New Testament was written ; and the august court of justice has been in session ever since man began to sin. A perfect code of laws, by which all the fiery passions could be curbed, and all the conflicting claims of selfish man could be equitably adjusted, was not at first to be expected ; but as defects and deficiencies appeared in the first dim outline of law, culture guided by experience readily supplied the needed additions and amendments. Cain was not ignorant of the fact that “ assault and battery ” was a crime ; but he did not know that the thread of life could be so easily broken. He struck the fatal blow ; and in a moment his brother’s blood cried out against him ; a guilty, sickish feeling came over him, and he realized that murder is an atrocious crime. From that hour, “ Thou shalt not kill ” was recognized as a law for all. In a similar way, all laws existing in the nature of things have been or may be discovered. The Decalogue was not the enactment

of its laws, but simply a record of commands generally well known, written down as a Constitution for the Jewish nation. Before Moses was born, both Hebrews and Egyptians knew it was wrong to kill, steal, commit adultery, swear falsely; and even the perfect ethics embodied in the teaching of Jesus, is mainly the ripe fruitage and authoritative statement of maxims, and rules of conduct, that had long been familiar to many a heart.

As an Apostle said, — “Those who have not the (written) law, are a law unto themselves;” and often the Master read and explained the commandments inscribed on the “fleshy tablets” of human nature.

6. Even religion came not by Divine Revelation. In the early dawn of reason man perceived that himself and all things were wrought upon and influenced by mysterious and often mighty superhuman forces; that something or some being made the sun, moon and stars revolve, the winds blow, the clouds fly, the thunder roar, the lightning flash, the earth quake, and a thousand other changes take place; and he could not refrain from feeling if not fully believing, that the cause of these otherwise inexplicable acts, was an intelligent and mighty Actor — in other words, a God. He also noticed that these invisible agencies, beings or Gods, were apparently changeable; sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile to man. Could their anger be averted and their favor secured? Possibly; an experiment was worth trying. It was known that presents, praise and prayer could influence men, and they might influence the Gods. Immediately therefore, worship — solemn songs, ascriptions of praise, humble petitions and rich offerings — was introduced. It was further noticed that the performance of these rites was followed by prosperity, and their neglect by adversity, at least occasionally; and the experiment was deemed a success. Religion is thus shown not to have been a Hebrew exotic; but a vine indigenous in every land and age. In Homer's time, religion was regarded as an ancient institution; and hence the great Poet, both in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, repre-

sents the Greek and Trojan warriors not only as firm believers in the Gods, but also devout worshippers. Neither history nor tradition runneth back to a date when man was undevout. Before Moses, before Abraham, before Noah, there were "preachers of righteousness," and men who "called on the name of the Lord." In Greece, Egypt, Persia, India and China, in ancient time, sages talked wisely of the Gods, and priests taught religion and conducted the ceremonies of worship. Some theory of rewards and punishments was held by every nation, and a hazy idea of an existence after death in a shadowy sheol, or in an earthly transmigration of souls, haunted every mind. In no civilized or half-civilized land was atheism ever general or popular.

All these — language, art, science, religion — are indigenous in the human soul; and though plants of slow growth, they have from the first been approximating perfection. If a more rapid progress had been desirable, God could and would have inspired inventors, experimenters, discoverers to hasten the evolutions, but a gradual rise, "first the blade, then the ear, afterwards the full corn in the ear," seems to have been the Divine policy ever since the beginning. Many dark sinful centuries elapsed before Moses was born, or the Bible written, or the Son of God sent to earth; and all the long time, the race gained and grew. Perhaps it was best that by slow self culture a man should to some extent fit himself for the coming Kingdom of God. There must be a stock of some size before a scion can be engrafted.

But we are not obliged to suppose that man, during all these weary ages was left entirely to his own resources. On the contrary, God was always good unto all, and, without discrediting the Scriptures, we are at liberty to conjecture if not believe that thousands of prophets taught; that Heaven's light streamed into millions of minds; that Divine whispers were heard by many a Gentile sage, as by Balaam; and that thus all men were aided in their upward progress. The entire history of the world has not been written, and we are ignorant of many a great event that has probably occurred.

It is well known that many a famous man in ancient times — Zoroaster, Pythagoras, Solon, Lycurgus, Socrates,—did claim to hold communion with superhuman beings; and their words were so wise that multitudes admitted the claim to be just; and we have no right nor reason to affirm that all these sages were either impostors or self deceived. We do not know.

Still there was need of a Divine Revelation, because there were great facts and important truths which neither the sages nor nature made known, and which unaided men could not find out; but these facts and truths have somehow got into tradition and print, and are now well and widely known, to the great benefit of mankind. It seems to us these facts and truths were revealed. They are stated in the Bible; and hence we say, "the Bible contains a Divine Revelation."

Among these revealments may be mentioned

1. The idea of an eternal, infinite, intelligent, almighty Supreme Being. As already shown, man easily and early arrived at a belief in superhuman and mighty Gods; but every train of thought that started for the absolute One, lost headway and stopped long before reaching its goal. The crest of Olympus was not a single "great white throne," but a pantheon. Jupiter was the King of Gods, but behind and above him was Saturn. Ormuzd was mighty but he was checkmated by Ahriman. Osiris shared his sceptre with Iris. Except among the Hebrews, no theology culminated in an absolutely infinite Theos. The finite cannot grasp the infinite. No Theistic argument ever made, whether *a priori* or *a posteriori*, has a clinch that holds against the strong pull of the Atheist, and compels belief. Natural theology is an attempt to prove a supposition. This is the scientific method, and in astronomy it works admirably; but it fails to convert all men to Darwinism. David said truly, "The heavens declare the glory of God"; and St. Paul said truly, "The invisible things of Him, since the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being perceived by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Divinity"; but we should remem-

ber that these great men looked at nature through theistic eyes ; they believed in God before they saw Him revealed in creation. When an Atheist looks up at burning stars, lawless comets, and the scattered fragments of a broken planet, or around at the strife, carnage, sin and misery on earth, he does not feel inclined to quote either the Psalmist or the Apostle. Theistic syllogisms are very plausible ; they indicate the possibility and probability of a Supreme God ; they prove — settle nothing. In spite of them, some profound thinker, even some of those mental giants, the scientists, are still skeptical. But millions of people do finally believe in a God ; and this belief was in the world long before arguments to prove it were invented. Centuries before the revelation to Moses of Jehovah, the Eternal, the “I am that I am,” in distant Mesopotamia, without the help of metaphysics, “Abraham believed in God.” It was a Divine Revelation ; and the Bible contains this Revelation. It opens with the statement that, “In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth” ; and the entire Volume is written in the spirit of this sublime fact. And this truth having come to the mind of man, and satisfied the requirements of his soul, and found confirmation strong in the order of nature, has not been, and cannot be lost nor forgotten. We, to-day, are basking and growing in the light of this ancient and blessed Revelation.

2. The existence of a Supreme One being admitted, we immediately want to know His character. If He is good, we can love and hope ; if not good, there is reason to fear and despair. But neither reason nor nature can give us the information needed. Long ago, the vast amount of sin, suffering and death in the world, either ordained or permitted by the Almighty, led men either to doubt His goodness or to deny His infinity. In the Greek mythology, no God is without faults ; and in the Persian religion, evil is ascribed to a Prince of Darkness whom the All-good cannot control. And to-day, a doubt of the absolute goodness of God shadows a large part of the Christian Church, and compels millions to feel that the creation of immortal sinners or of souls that

inevitably become sinners, and their endless punishment for sin, closely resembles diabolical cruelty ! While trying "to look through nature up to nature's God," one of the ripest scholars and profoundest thinkers of modern times is reported to have said, "Either there is no God, or God is not good." If there is evil that is wholly or only evil in its beginning, essence, progress and results, either ordained or fated or permitted or slipped in unexpectedly, then if there is a God, He is either not good or not supreme. Revelation extricates us from this dismal dilemma, by announcing that God is infinite in wisdom, power and goodness ; and hence, as a whole, though we perceive it not, "all things work together for good." What Joseph, the Viceroy of Egypt, said to his brothers respecting their selling him into slavery, "Ye meant it for evil, but God meant it for good," is — must be — always and everywhere, the solution of the otherwise insoluble problem, "God is love" ; and this is a Divine Revelation. God is love ; all His arrangements were in love ; all work together for good ; and all will ultimate in love. It is Love that is "above all, through all, in all." The Bible contains this revelation ; and those who believe it are reconciled to God, and delivered from the bondage of fear and death.

3. For the right conduct of life, and the right administration of justice in society, a perfect and authoritative code of laws to which to appeal and by which to decide, in all cases, is absolutely essential ; but what man or body of men ever had the wisdom to frame, and the power to execute such a code ? In many respects, great and good men have been able to distinguish between right and wrong, and possibly, a congress of all the great and good men that ever lived, might construct an excellent code of laws. But such a congress has never assembled, and never can assemble ; and if it could, it would have no power to enact a single statute. Without "a power behind the throne," even a king's edict has no force. A perfect and authoritative law can only emanate from a perfect law-maker endowed with unlimited power. Man has neither the perfection nor the power ; but

God has both, and He has given us the absolute standard of right. A portion He thundered from Mt. Sinai; a portion He inspired Moses and the prophets to write; and the remainder came from the lips of Him of Nazareth, who "spoke as one having authority." The kingdom of God has come, and its laws are revealed in the Bible. They are perfect; and their authority is, "Thus saith the Lord." They are adapted to all lands, occasions and peoples. He who disobeys them deviates from right. He who conforms to them, walks with God and is holy.

4. In every healthy mind, there is a strong desire to have justice done to all. We want the wicked punished, and the virtuous rewarded, according to their deeds; and it is generally admitted that the knowledge of such a retribution is needed to stimulate men to do right and to deter them from doing wrong. But neither our own experience and observation, nor the study of history, imparts this knowledge. Instead, we know that often the best of people suffer by disease, accident and misfortune, while the wicked flourish like a green bay tree, live to old age, and die without a pang. Rogues go unwhipped of justice, and saints are martyred. Louis XIV, with all his sins, reigned seventy-two years in the full enjoyment of all princely luxuries and pleasures; innocent Louis XVI, and his amiable wife, were beheaded in the early prime of life; and history is dark with details of similar apparent injustice. I speak of "apparent injustice," because we do not know the actual amount of virtue or vice to be attributed to one single person, nor the actual amount of reward or punishment that any one receives. We cannot look into men's hearts, and we have no moral scales. They may be better or worse, happier or more miserable than they seem. Perhaps

"More true joy, Marcellus exiled feels,
Than Cæsar with a senate at his heels."

We do not know that full retribution is made to any one, here or hereafter. But God comes to our aid, and, through "holy men of old, that spoke as they were moved upon by

the Holy Spirit," informs us that full and exact justice is sure for every human being. The All-wise is witness, judge and rewarder ; and not the smallest act of good or evil will be overlooked. This is announced in the Sacred Scriptures, in so many places, that quotations are unnecessary. The when, where and how, of retribution, are matters of minor consequence, the certainty is all-important ; and the Bible contains a clear and plain Divine Revelation of this certainty.

5. Neither the doctrine of endless punishment, nor the doctrine of future limited punishment, can be proved without Divine Revelation. Concerning the after death condition of man, nature is profoundly silent. Perfect peace abides in the grave ; and the unaided mind of man cannot pierce the veil that conceals the hereafter. We do not *know* that any human being deserves an after death punishment, or that the forgiving Father inflicts such punishment ; and we do not know that a finite being would endure the strain of endless woes. In this world, the ultimate of pain is death ; in the next world, the ultimate of long-continued pain, if any soul is doomed to such a calamity, may be annihilation. In many passages the Bible speaks of the destruction of the wicked ; and to destroy may mean to annihilate. If the doctrine of endless misery is true, and if there is any way in which a sinner may escape so terrible a "wrath to come," he ought to know it, and Divine Revelation ought to give, in the clearest and most explicit statements, the needed information. Yet on this subject, the Old Testament is entirely silent, and the New Testament so obscure and indefinite that learned men are not agreed about its meaning. Reason, humanity, justice, mercy do not favor the doctrine in question. Its proof must come, if it comes at all, from the Bible ; and on the meaning of a few texts of Scripture, the great battle between Universalists and their opponents is to be fought and the final victory won. We may admit, for argument's sake, that there are in the Bible dark hints of an awful fate for the wicked ; but that admission is really an assertion that it does not contain a *revelation* of the doctrine of unending woe.

6. The wish may have been father to the thought ; but it seems to me that the ancient prophecies of a coming world's Redcemer, was a Divine Revelation. Before the birth of Christ, there was nothing in nature nor in the condition of mankind, that betokened the advent of a Savior. Each generation of sinners begat another generation of sinners, and the sons were often worse than the fathers. Sages had arisen and talked wisely ; great progress in the arts had been made ; many salutary laws had been enacted ; still hideous sin and wrong remained, and every man was either a disgraceful tyrant or a degraded slave. During thousands of years, probably, not a single uninspired person on earth had a correct idea of true religion. But in the midst of the universal gloom and wretchedness, there somehow came into the mind of many a Hebrew Seer, a hope — an assurance — that a Messiah would in due time be born, who would teach a pure religion and inaugurate a Kingdom that would embrace and bless the whole world. The writings of the prophets glow and sparkle with this sublime and cheering hope and promise. It was not a mere wish, a hope, a guess, or calculation ; it was a Divine Revelation. God whispered it to “ holy men of old,” and they uttered it with an unction from above.

7. One thing more was absolutely essential to human welfare, viz : a definite and satisfactory idea of man's origin and destiny. Birth and death are common ; whence came man, and whither are we going ? The future must be the outgrowth of the past. If man happened into existence he will probably happen out of existence. If law made him, law will be likely to unmake him ; and that will be the finality. Heathen mythology tells many a wonderful tale of the beginning of the human race, but they are all incredible ; yet if true, they furnish no ground for hope of immortality. Even the bold statement that “ God created man in his own image,” does not necessitate a hope that looks beyond the bounds of time. God's creations are not necessarily eternal. Many a man has firmly believed the Mosaic account of the creation ; and yet not even dreamed of a real life after death. So far

as we know, Socrates, B. C. 400, made the first attempt to prove, by logic, human immortality; and his argument, as recorded by Plato, in his *Phedo*, is a noble effort of a great mind; yet it is so abstruse and metaphysical that the average reader fails to master its meaning, and those who understand it best, still desire more light. Modern arguments in favor of immortality may be clearer, but no more conclusive. Wordsworth's Ode, "Intimations of Immortality from the Recollections of Early Childhood," is said to be as good as anything ever written :

"Trailing clouds of glory, do we come
From God, who is our home."

This is truly an inspiring sentiment; but we must remember that the poet's muse was illumined by the Gospel, and that its best thought was only an "intimation." The simple truth is, man's eternal life cannot be demonstrated by science or proved by logic. Faith in it came not from human wisdom, but by Divine Revelation. In teaching that God is our Father, and we his offspring, Christ taught an undying life for man. The child partakes the nature of the parent; and hence we, spirit children, will live as long as our spirit Father. This is the logic of the New Testament, and even a child can see its point and feel its force. By dying, coming to life again, and repeatedly showing himself to his intimate friends, who could not be mistaken in the man, Christ demonstrated an after death life for all. Thus came the faith and hope of the Christian Church, directly from Christ. He brought to light, immortality; men saw it and believed. It was a Divine Revelation; and once made, no repetition was needed, because the glorious faith it engendered can never die out. It is too good to be forgotten by a dying world, and too reasonable to be cast away by candid thinkers. It has taken away the sting of death from many millions of the dying, and given strong consolation to many millions of the bereaved; and it solves the otherwise dark problem of our brief earthly sojourn.

I might add in this connection, that in our estimation the

revelment of immortal life for all God's offspring, implies their personality, holiness and happiness. There are indeed emphatic statements to this effect in the writings of the Apostles, but no revelation was needed. From the data — God is love, He is our Father, we are immortal — only one inference can be logically deduced ; we shall be blessed forever.

These six vastly important facts — the existence of a Supreme Being, the perfectness of his nature and attributes, the certainty of just rewards and punishments, a perfect and authoritative code of laws, the promise of a Messiah, and his revelment of human immortality — have been divinely revealed to men ; and because revealed, they are now known and believed. This revelation is contained in the Bible in thousands of explicit statements. Indeed the various books of the Bible seem to have been written mainly to teach, explain and enforce these primal facts. If there are portions of the Bible alien to these great facts, they are not revelation. They may be true, may be of importance as history or philosophy or as moral maxims, but they are not revelation. One example in point, will illustrate my meaning. It is written, Gen. xxii. 23, "These eight (sons) Milcah did bear to Nahor." This is undoubtedly true. Milcah was probably a good wife and mother ; and one of her sons, Bethuel, became the father of Rebekah, Isaac's wife. To the Jew, proud of his ancestry, it is an interesting fact ; to us, it is simply an item of history, and in no sense a revelation. It may have been written by inspiration, and for some good reason, its writing may have been needful and beneficial ; but the fact, at the time, was well known, and tradition may or might have kept it in memory until the age of Moses.

A comment somewhat similar may be made on very many passages of Scripture ; and they clearly indicate that a careful discrimination is needful ; and to this at last we must all come. We have rejected the theory of plenary, verbal inspiration ; we are aware that the Greek and Hebrew manuscripts contain many thousand various readings ; we are not

satisfied with our English version ; still a Divine light radiates from almost every page. When slighted, it is generally by those who are least acquainted with its contents. Read with care and candor, the student of the Bible finds, in its sacred pages, veritable and interesting history, biography, poetry and incident ; but better than all else, a genuine glorious, satisfactory, Divine Revelation.

I. C. Knowlton.

ARTICLE XIX.

Has Christian Theology a Biblical Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead ?

The object of this article is to ascertain whether or not there exists among the systems of Christian theology a doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead which can fairly sustain a claim to biblical authority in its support. That such a claim is put forth is a matter of course ; and it is only by such a study in biblical theology as is here proposed that it can, in each case, be subjected to a thorough test, and that its grounds and proof-texts can be examined. An inquiry of this kind scarcely needs justification ; for, what does the Bible teach respecting the fortune of the dead, is a question neither uninteresting nor unimportant, whatever view one may entertain of the Book ; and apart from the question itself and the answer which it may receive, the investigation cannot but yield important results regarding theories of the Bible, and the general dogmatic value of its teachings.

The Resurrection in Christian theology presents a succession of evolutions out of lower into higher forms. Beginning with the doctrine of the raising of the self-same material organism which is deposited in the grave,¹ it has advanced

¹ The doctrine of the fathers, Tertullian, Irenæus, etc., who, in opposition to the Gnostic spiritualization of death and the resurrection as mere conditions of the soul, vehemently asserted the identity of the original and resurrection bodies. *Resurrect*

through the stages of a resurrection-body bearing a general resemblance to the original, having a sort of identity without identical substance,² and of a spiritual body developed out of the material organism by virtue of an indwelling power of transformation,³ to the extreme view of modern liberalism, which leaves the body out of account and transforms the resurrection into the so-called rising up of the soul at death into the immortal life.⁴ In all these systems except the last the resurrection is held as an event yet in the future which is immediately to precede "the end of the world," or the consummation of mundane affairs, the general judgment and the eternal awards of human destiny.

The biblical doctrine of the resurrection presents an analogous evolution, as it was modified by the thought of successive ages. From the early Hebrew belief in the shadowy existence of the disembodied spirits, or *manes*, of the dead in sheol arose the later popular doctrine of a bodily resurrection to a new life, which was still to be subject to physical conditions and passions, according to one sect, though this doctrine *igitur caro, et quidem omnis, et quidem ipsa, at quidem integra*, says the former. And again, "Nothing of all which the Father has given is lost, neither hair, nor eyes, nor teeth. How could there be 'wailing and gnashing of teeth?'" Irenæus appeals to the resurrections effected by Christ, such as the widow's son at Nain and Lazarus in support of the same view. This doctrine survives in Thomas Aquinas.

² Origen's view, who, to meet the scoff of Celsus, starts from the physiological fact of the perpetually changing and yet identical body. The soul at the resurrection assumes the same, but a better body. The matter is no longer the same as originally composed it. The *εἶδος* is the same. He appeals to the transfiguration of Jesus, Moses and Elias, in proof of his doctrine of a *spiritual* resurrection body.

³ The doctrine of the theologians, who, at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, mediated between the tendencies of supernaturalism and rationalism.

⁴ The tendency of philosophy, and consequently of theology, to subjectivity could not but result in exalting the spiritual at the expense of the material part of man. The collision with the crude popular doctrine of the bodily resurrection, was inevitable, and comes to view in most explicit form in Kant, who thinks that under the presumption of spiritualism, the reason can neither find an interest in dragging into eternity a body which, however refined it may be, yet it the personality rests on its identity, must ever consist of the same material which constitutes the basis of its organization, nor can make intelligible to itself what this calcareous earth, of which the body consists, can have to do in Heaven, where presumably other forms of matter constitute the conditions of existence and the support of living beings (*Religious innerhalb d. Grenz. d. Vern.*, p. 182). The establishment of this view among liberal thinkers and as a tenet of the liberal churches, is one of the results of the rationalistic movement inaugurated by the pre-Kantian and Kantian theologians.

was vehemently disputed in its whole extent by another. Christ, without denying the doctrine which he found existing and held by the Pharisees, appears to have modified it somewhat, depriving it of some of its cruder and more materialistic features, while without doubt in the hands of Paul it was completely transformed, so that in the resurrection, according to his view, the soul is "clothed upon" with a "heavenly," "spiritual," and "incorruptible" body.

The origin and development of this doctrine among the Hebrews are involved in no little obscurity. Especially is the *time* of its first appearance doubtful on account of the uncertainty which attaches to the date of some of the Old Testament Writings. There is, however, little doubt that no well-defined belief in the resurrection of the dead appears in any of the Jewish writings prior to the exile. It is well known and generally conceded by scholars that the hopes and expectations of the early Israelites were confined to this life. Of future rewards and penalties their early literature shows no trace. The shadowy existence of the *manes* of the dead in sheol was regarded as only a mock-life, a dreary, hopeless state of being in a "land of darkness and the shadow of death," whence there was no return.⁵ It was but natural, however, that the notion of spirits in the underworld as living even though in the vague and gloomy state of the *manes*, should at length develop into a belief in their possible return to be united with their bodies. The traditions of resurrections performed by Elisha and Elijah preserved in the first and second books of Kings are evidences of such a belief at

⁵ "Before I go whence I shall not return, even to the land of darkness and the shadow of death" (Job. x. 21). Some traces of a popular idea of a possible "return" of spirits from the under-world, appear in the phenomena of necromancy. The Canaanitish and Egyptian practice of evoking, or pretending to evoke, the spirits of the dead, seems to have been carried on extensively among the Hebrews, notwithstanding the strictest prohibitions of the Mosaic law. See Deut. xviii. 9-12; Leviticus xx. 27. Thus in the popular superstition the departed were not wholly cut off from communication with the living. At the time of the Exile, and perhaps earlier, the belief seems to have existed that these *manes* take an interest in the fortune of the living. The Egyptian prince is hailed as he descends by the "mighty out of the midst of Hades" (Ezek. xxxiii. 21); and the spirits indite a satirical song as a greeting to a king of Israel coming to join them (Isaiah xiv. 9).

about the time of the Exile. Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones, while in itself no evidence of the existence of a well-defined doctrine of the resurrection at the time of the Exile, indicates that such a doctrine was already beginning to shape itself in the popular thought; for we can hardly assume that the prophet would employ, for the expression of his hope in the restoration of Israel, imagery unintelligible to his contemporaries. That the idea of sheol and its sad and ghostly *manes* contained the germ of the later Hebrew doctrine of the bodily resurrection, and was the point of departure of its evolution, is a hypothesis which appears to be established by the successive historical phases of the dogma, as well as by the absence of other points of attachment and influences adequate to the result.

In studying the passages commonly adduced in support of the theory that the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead among the Hebrews antedates the Exile, a careful discrimination is necessary between a doctrine as such and ideas which are in process of crystalization into dogma, and which, far from being fixed as a completed and defined belief, are but foregleams thereof. For example, in Isaiah xxvi. 19, the prophet puts into the mouth of the people a song expressive of their hope of Israel's recovery from its misfortunes; and the intensity of the poet's desire impels him to call upon the dead to come forth and the dwellers in the dust to awake and sing.⁶ Again, there is doubtless no allusion to the resurrection in Psalm xvi. 9, 10. The connection plainly shows that the author had in mind only temporal perils and a temporal deliverance, and in his confidence in the divine protection he exclaims, "Thou wilt not abandon my soul to sheol (give me over to death in this peril) nor suffer thy pious ones⁷ to see the pit."⁸

⁶ The translation in the Common Version is misleading: "Thy dead men shall live, together with my body shall they rise." It should read: "May thy (Jehovah's) dead live! May my dead bodies (i.e., the dead bodies of my people,) arise!" The people are speaking. מֵתִים is collective singular, according to Gesenius (*Commentar über den Jesaias*, p. 806), "my dead body," for the dead bodies of the people.

⁷ The more ancient reading, יְיָ יְיָ "thy pious ones," is to be preferred in the absence of good reasons for the later singular.

⁸ "The pit," or grave, is the proper rendering, instead of the Septuagint διάφθορα, "corruption." An allegorizing exegesis can, of course, as it has done, find whatever will in this passage. We confine ourselves to a legitimate treatment of the text.

The passage of Job xix. 25, 26, is often quoted in proof that the authors of this book believed in a future resurrection of the dead ; and the version of King James' translators gives some support to the theory. A critical examination of the text, however, will show that the writer only thought of expressing Job's confidence in a vindication at the hand of God in his own life-time. " Even though I be reduced to the semblance of a man and wasted by disease and suffering," he is made to say, " yet shall I at length on the earth behold in God my vindicator."⁹ The doctrine of future rewards and penalties is wholly foreign to the book.

There is, however, no doubt that after the Exile a belief in the resurrection of the dead was gradually established among the Jews, so far at least as to become prevalent in the popular or Pharisaic party. What relation the experiences of the Exile held to the development of this doctrine it is difficult to determine. That the Jews adopted it from the Persians is hardly probable, in view of the intense antipathy cherished by that people towards the religion of their heathen enemies. More reasonable appears the conjecture of Nicolas (*Des Doctrines Religieuses des Juifs, etc.*), that having met with this doctrine in the Exile, they were led to a re-examination of their own sacred writings and the traditions of their people, to see what intimations and foregleams of it they might find ; and that the result of this inquiry was the gradual development of the belief as a Jewish tenet. However this may be, the literature of the two centuries next preceding the Christian era bears unquestionable testimony to the existence of the doctrine among the Palestinian Jews. It is a significant fact that it was maintained by the patriotic party which had sprung up to defend the popular faith and institutions against foreign oppression. The Pharisees were the champions of

⁹ The translation of Dr. Noyes gives the result of the critical inquiry which it is not necessary here to enter upon :

" Yet I know that my Vindicator liveth,
And will hereafter stand upon the earth ;
And though with my skin this body be wasted away,
Yet without my flesh shall I see God."

i.e., " though my flesh be wasted away."

the resurrection. And this party represented the indestructible faith of the people in the future triumph of the national cause, in the kingdom of God which was to come and in the Messiah. How natural that they who fought and bled for the national honor and integrity should come to believe that those who died for this cause would not be forgotten in the coming hour of its victory, but would be raised up to meet the Messiah descending in his glory! The Messiah was to re-establish the Jewish kingdom and race. The intense belief in this consummation would naturally have as a postulate the doctrine that the true Jews, at least of former days would be called to the joy and the honor of this reign. The raising up of the spirits of these from the gloomy realm of sheol, and their reunion with their bodies was a step necessary to this consummation.

It need not surprise us, then, to find that the Jewish doctrine of the resurrection of the dead was inseparable from the Messianic expectations of this people, if not a consequence of these; and that the future life as held by them was conceived only as an existence in the soon expected earthly reign of the Anointed, the Son of David. In this first form, however, the doctrine limits the resurrection to Jews, who were to be the sole participants in the Messianic reign.¹⁰ The idea of a general resurrection at the end of this reign is a late addition, the origin of which it is difficult to trace.

The authors of the Old Testament apocryphal writings appear, in general, to entertain somewhat vague and conflicting notions as to the fortune of the soul after death. With one, death is a punishment at the hand of God. Another speaks of utter destruction in death. Passages abound which set forth the immortality of righteousness. The virtuous are

¹⁰ This is doubtless the meaning of the text, Dan. xii. 2: "Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake," etc. This passage, written probably in the 2d century before Christ, contains the first, and probably the only, definite announcement of a doctrine proper of the resurrection of the dead in the canonical books of the Old Testament. This book of Daniel is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the ideas and beliefs of the Jews in the 2d century preceding the Christian Era. Apocalyptic, patriotic and Messianic, it was probably written to encourage the Jews in their desperate conflict for national existence, and to urge them to fidelity and steadfastness in the cause of Jehovah.

sometimes represented as imperishable, while the wicked will be without hope at the great day of judgment. Only in the second book of Maccabees do we find the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead explicitly declared.¹¹

From the facts it is evident that at the time of Christ the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead was held among the Jews by the Pharisaic party, and consisted essentially in a belief that the souls of the dead, which were supposed to dwell as bodiless shades, or *manes*, in sheol, would come forth at the "end of the days," i. e. at the advent of Messiah, and be united with their bodies which, according to Josephus, they supposed would be composed of a refined and purified substance. It is probable that the original bodies were thought to contain a certain creative principle which was capable of producing this higher corporeality. All the evidence, however, goes to show that at this stage of its development, at least, the Jewish doctrine of the resurrection included by no means a belief in a *general* rising up of the dead. The resurrection was held to be a reward of piety,¹² and was intimately connected with the expected establishment of the Messianic kingdom.

In the New Testament the biblical doctrine of the resurrection enters (though gradually and still in a process of evolution) upon other and higher stages of development. It did not enter into the plan of the teaching of Christ to establish explicit dogmas in relation to questions of this kind; and we do not, accordingly, find him opposing or correcting the

¹¹ In 2 Mac. viii. 9, a faithful Jew subjected to torture, exclaims with his last breath: "Take away our present life, but the King of the earth will awaken us, who die for his laws, to the true eternal life." And another: "From Heaven have I received these limbs; I give them for the sake of His laws, and from Him I hope to receive them again" (v. 11). See also verses 14 and 23. According to chap. xii. 43, the belief in a resurrection appears to be the only reason for ordering (or purchasing) sacrifices for the sins of the dead. Of one who had collected a large sum of money and sent it to Jerusalem for this purpose, the author says: "In this he acted well, being mindful of the resurrection; for had he not expected that the fallen (in battle) would be raised up, it would have been superfluous and foolish to pray for the dead."

¹² Josephus states that the doctrine of the resurrection was employed by the Pharisees to work upon the hopes and fears of the multitude for their restraint and intimidation or encouragement. He also says that it was taught that the liberty which was accorded to the pious Jews of returning from the gloomy realm of *sheol* to inhabit their

popular Jewish notion of a resurrection of the righteous at the advent of the Messiah. Only when drawn into a controversy does he allude to the subject in a direct and definite way, according to the synoptical record, and then only to show by a strange sort of exegesis that the patriarchs are to be regarded as still living, since Jehovah had declared himself to Moses as their God,¹³ and to oppose the popular doctrine of a rising-up of souls into bodies of a like corporeality with the old. If, however, he announces no dogmatic formula, he presents a very spiritual view of the future life, and the declaration that God is not the God of the dead but of the living may be regarded as his greatest word on this theme. Neither in this passage, nor probably in any other place in the synoptical record,¹⁴ is the doctrine of the resurrection carried beyond the point at which we have found it in the popular Jewish belief just before the time of Christ, with the single exception as to the corporeality of the resurrected. Its connection in the popular mind with the advent of the Messiah is not disturbed, neither is it made general and inclusive of others than the righteous. The report of the discussion with the Sadducees as given by Luke makes Christ say

bodies, was denied to the godless. The passage already quoted from Daniel, in which a resurrection of some of the "many" to shame and everlasting contempt" is a solitary instance of a belief in conflict with this idea. It perhaps antedates by some centuries the later doctrine of a resurrection of the unjust, or the "second resurrection." None of the passages in the apocryphal writings hint at a resurrection of any but those who, steadfast in the faith, had died in its defence. The taunt hurled by a dying Jew at the tyrant Antiochus Epiphanes, that he would not have a resurrection "to life," does not necessarily imply a second resurrection.

¹³ Some have regarded this citation of the passage from Exodus by Christ, as showing that he did not hesitate to employ the rabbinical exegesis of his time, which, by over refinement and allegorizing, was wont to find in the Scriptures much which was not contained in them. "I am the God of Abraham," etc., means (i.e., was intended by the writer to mean), "I am the same God who protected the patriarchs," without regard to the question whether they were living in spirit at the time of Moses or not. The citation, however, was effective as an *argumentum ad hominem*, and was employed to introduce the announcement of the great truth, "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living."

¹⁴ Matthew xxiv. 31, xxv. 22, do not mention, nor do they necessarily imply, a resurrection. The "elect" to be gathered from the four winds of heaven are probably the living. If, however, a resurrection be thought to be implied in these parables, then before the judgment of the Messiah (Matt. xxv.) the second resurrection must be assumed.

that his teaching concerning the resurrection applies only to such as should "be accounted worthy to attain that life and the resurrection from the dead," and in the parallel passage in Matthew the comparison of the resurrected to "angels of God in heaven" points to a similar limitation. Again, in Luke xiv. 14, the man who in making a feast should invite not his friends, kinsmen and rich neighbors, but the poor, the maimed, the lame and the blind is promised a recompense "at the resurrection of the just." A resurrection of the unjust or godless may be thought to be implied in this expression. At all events it is only implicitly contained in any words ascribed to Christ in the synoptical record.

In the fourth Gospel, however, the second resurrection is explicitly mentioned: "The hour is coming, in which all that are in the graves shall come forth; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation." (V. 28, 29.) It is not necessary, however, to assume with Davidson (*The Doctrine of Last Things*, p. 39) that the two resurrections are here represented as simultaneous. There is no good reason for taking ὥρα (hour) so strictly; but it may fairly be extended so as to include the αἰμῶνα which Paul distinguishes in the resurrection, which are implied in Luke xiv. 14, and definitely expressed in the Apocalypse. (See Meyer, *Evangelium des Johannes*, p. 236.) In chapter vi. 39-44, a resurrection "at the last day" is promised to the believer in Christ. This does not exceed the Jewish belief in the resurrection of the righteous on the great day of Messiah's glory, called variously, "the last day," "the day of the Lord," "the day of Christ," "the day of the Son of Man," etc., etc., but rather the writer appears, by adopting the current phraseology, to have no intention of opposing or correcting the popular opinion.

The biblical doctrine of the resurrection advances to a more definite development in the writings of Paul, by whom the first attempt was made to give to Christianity a philosophical treatment and a dogmatic expression. Here we find the old

Jewish doctrine transformed under the influence of the Christ idea. Indeed, the resurrection is made to depend on the fact that Christ was raised, who is represented as the first fruits. Death had come into the world through the sin of Adam, but through Christ has entered into humanity a new principle of life which is the earnest of the resurrection—the victory over death to those at least who believe on him.¹⁵ In the resurrection the spirit is to be clothed upon not with the old body of common, perishable material, but with a certain wondrous, incorruptible, spiritual body—"a bright envelope fitted for a tabernacle to the glorified soul." "There is a spiritual body," exclaims the Apostle with sublime confidence. But whence was this ethereal house of the resurrected soul to be derived? Its germ is contained in the old body which is deposited in the earth, as the germ of the harvest is in the grain which is sown. "It is sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body."¹⁶

In this grand conception of a spiritual body in the resurrection Judaism is surpassed and Paul becomes the teacher of his nation. But the Jewish influence remains. The doctrine of his people impresses itself upon the creed of the

¹⁵ "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive" (1 Cor. xv. 22). The force of the Apostle's argument depends, of course, on an assumed analogy between the resurrection of Christ and that of men. And that Paul conceived of Christ's resurrection as spiritual, i. e., into a "spiritual body," is quite probable. He mentions the appearance of Christ to the twelve and to others after his resurrection, as precisely similar to the manifestation to himself on the way to Damascus. The "spiritualization" of the words above quoted, and their context, it may be remarked in passing, so as to make them convey the notion of moral or spiritual life and death, is wholly without exegetical support. It is a return to the old gnostic allegorizing, and should have the countenance of none who have regard for the integrity of the Scriptures and for exegesis as a science.

¹⁶ Paul's conception of the process by which the spiritual body was to be evolved out of the natural, has received no definite expression in his writings. His doctrine may perhaps be traced to the ancient Jewish idea of an indwelling germ in the old body out of which the resurrection body was supposed to spring. The Jews are said to have supposed it to consist of a certain bone which they called *Lama*. Sometimes he seems to ascribe the origin of the spiritual body to the creative power of God, sometimes to the indwelling spiritual Christ-principle and life; while again he seeks to make it intelligible by comparison with the germinating process in nature (1 Cor. xv. 38, 45; Romans viii, 12).

Christian apostle. There is still a first resurrection for the righteous; yet no longer for the righteous under the law, but for those who have believed on the Christ. There are orders (*τάγματα*) in the resurrection. After Christ, the first fruits, comes the order of those who are "Christ's at his coming" (1 Cor. xv. 23). "The dead in Christ shall rise first" (1 Thess. iv. 16). The second resurrection is left to be inferred.

Another remnant of the Jewish doctrine of the resurrection which adheres to the Pauline view is the connection of this event with the revelation of the Messianic glory and victory. We have seen that the Jews expected the resurrection of the righteous at the advent of the Messiah. To Paul and the other Jews who had accepted Christ as the Messiah of their nation, the true Advent was yet in the future. A Messiah who had appeared in humiliation and died in shame¹⁷ had not to their apprehension fulfilled the true Messianic mission; had not realized their true ideal; nor satisfied the glowing prophecies of seers and poets. At the period, then, of this second coming of the Lord in power did Paul and his fellow believers place the resurrection of the dead (the Christian dead at least) who were to rise up out of sheol and be clothed upon with incorruptible spiritual bodies, while those of their number who should be still alive were to be "changed," or to assume like glorious bodies.¹⁸ Then, when the corruptible

¹⁷ "Unto the Jews a stumbling-block." Even to *Christian* Jews more of a stumbling-block than they themselves knew; as is manifest in how much allegorizing of Scripture, in what "earnest expectation," in what imagined "groaning of the creation," in what longing for the opening of the heavens and the revelation of the glory of the Son of man!

¹⁸ "Behold, I shew you a mystery; we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed" (1 Cor. xv. 51, 52). "We which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air" (1 Thess. iv. 15-18).

It should be said that the author of Acts represents Paul as saying especially that there will be a resurrection both of the just and the unjust. This doctrine is also that the Book of Revelation, which places an interval of one thousand years between the two resurrections (xx. 4, 5).

should have put on incorruption and the mortal immortality, would the victory over death be achieved, the triumph of the second Adam over the first complete ! That this consummation was expected in the life-time of the apostles is a conclusion which one cannot exegetically dispute with success, however one may dogmatically protest against it.

It appears, then, from the foregoing considerations, that the resurrection in Christian theology in its several phases finds no support throughout in the various forms of the biblical doctrine. So far as the former holds to the rising of a material body, with organs similar to the old body, it bears a resemblance to the Old Testament doctrine, but is not in accord with that of the New Testament. A spiritual corporeality in the resurrection, so far as it may be held in Christian theology, agrees completely with the doctrine of Paul. That "spiritualization" of the resurrection which regards it as only the rising of the liberated soul into the immortal life is totally destitute of biblical support, *as a doctrine of the resurrection*. All the forms of the doctrine in Christian theology fail to agree with the several stages which the evolution of the dogma presents in the Bible in the matter of *time* when the resurrection is to take place. In the Jewish theology of the Old Testament the resurrection is placed at the advent of the Messiah. In the Jewish-Christian theology of the New Testament it is to occur at the second coming of Christ in his glory. A resurrection yet in the future is not taught in the Bible, if we are required to draw a conclusion in respect to this doctrine from the totality of its teachings concerning it, and one need scarcely hesitate to say, from any single passage, interpreted according to its connection.

But the Bible teaching respecting the fact of a future life is not dependent upon its revelations concerning the doctrine in question. The resurrection is entirely incidental to the immortality of man, and the belief in it under its various forms has doubtless originated in the natural human conception of the necessity of a corporeality of some kind in any existence of the soul. That such a necessity exists is of

course purely gratuitous. Of the fact of immortality, Christianity does not leave us in doubt. As to the conditions and nature of that existence it has wisely left us in ignorance. There appears, accordingly, to be no reason for confounding in Christian theology the terms immortality and resurrection and claiming biblical authority for this confusion of ideas.

Pres. O. Cone.

ARTICLE XX.

General Laws and Special Providence.

THE word Providence which we derive from the Latin word *Providentia*, is used to express the action, or conduct of God towards the universe which He upholds by His power and regulates by His wisdom.¹ The doctrine of Providence is one of vital importance in Christian Theology. It is so united in our thought and faith with the other essential doctrines of natural and revealed religion, that to remove it would destroy the unity and harmony of the whole system of religious truth. But this is also an ethical and practical question. Without Providence there could be no Divine moral government, and without this responsibility and moral obligation are misnomers. Divine protection for man would be impossible without providence, and the doctrine of prayer and the practice of piety, as parts of the theory and practice of religious worship are meaningless and absurd if God does not govern in the universe. The assurance of prayer, the reward of the good, and the punishment of the wicked demands of the existence of God's special providence in the universe. We need Divine care. Our weakness, helplessness, dependence, ignorance, sin, and sorrow make God's parental care necessary to our protection, safety, and salvation. Two things are included in our idea of prov-

¹ Theology by Rev. John Dick. 1 vol. p. 417.

idence, *i.e.*, the preservation and government of the whole material, and spiritual creation. Matter, life, and mind must be under God's control, or there is no providence.

The first argument I shall introduce in proof of the doctrine of special providence is drawn from the infinite perfections of God. God is an infinite spirit. His attributes are spiritual and active. His omnipotent power must sustain and preserve all things. The omniscience of God makes him acquainted with all His creatures, their wants and necessities. As omnipresent He pervades all nature and fills all worlds. His infinite goodness would prompt Him to supply all our wants, defend His creatures from all danger, preserve them from all harm, keep them from all evil, and save them from all sin. These divine perfections as active in the universe make God's special providence over man certain. They could not exist and be exercised without it.

Special providence is evident from the fact of special creation. The fact that God has made the universe is conclusive proof that he can, will, and does take care of it. That which is of sufficient importance for God to create, is of sufficient value for Him to govern and preserve. He is the Creator of all things, the giver of all life, the Father of all Spirits. Creatorship and Fatherhood show that He has the ability, and devolves upon Himself the duty, of governing, preserving and caring for His whole creation. The universe is a unit. The mutual adaptation and wise and just relation of one part to another, reveal divine thought, plan, purpose, and action in every part as well as in the whole. This gives us special creation. There is more intelligence revealed in the formation of the eye, than in the creation of the sun; in the structure of the ear, lungs and tongue than in the composition of the atmosphere. The creation of a fish is a more wonderful proof of the presence of mind in nature, than the gathering of the waters of all the seas. This reveals special creative acts, and thus presents a basis of, and an argument for Special Providence.

The third argument for Special Providence is derived from

the general faith of the human race in its existence. This faith is natural and universal, common to all minds, all nations, and all ages. It is the fact that underlies all religion. It is the basis of nature, animal, and hero worship. The real object of such worship is not nature, the animal, nor the hero, but the God in all these. The presence of Divinity in nature, life, instinct, and mind is what men worship. To Him they cry for help, to Him they look for deliverance, and to Him they offer prayer and Thanksgiving. This general faith is true, or it follows that human nature is not trustworthy. This would be fatal to all doctrines of religion, science and philosophy.

The Scriptures teach the doctrine of God's Special Providence. "The very hairs of our heads are all numbered. The sparrows do not fall to the ground without the notice of our Heavenly Father. If He clothes the grass of the field shall He not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?" Such was the teaching of Christ to his disciples and through them to us. Paul states: That in him we live, move, and have our being; that God is the Father of all, is above all, and within all. "All things work together for good to them that love God."

The Psalmist says, speaking of God, "Thou has beset me behind and before, and laid thy hand upon me." He, God "will give His angels charge over thee to keep thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee up in their hands. The Lord is my Shepherd I shall not want. When father and mother forsake me the Lord will take me up." This is God's Special Providence over us clearly revealed in the Scriptures.

Special Providence is thought by some to be in conflict with General Providence. But this is an error. A General by necessity involves a Special Providence. Generals are formed of specials. God cannot care for the whole, without caring for all the parts. He cannot control the sun without controlling the units. He cannot take care of the race without taking care of the individuals that make the race. To care for families he must care for the persons that compose

the families. God cannot direct history without directing the events of history. To govern the world He must govern the people who make the world. This shows there can be no general without a special Providence. Under the Divine administration, general arrangements and provisions, are all the time receiving special application.

There are special ends and objects attained by general arrangements in nature. The soil is adapted to the growth of every variety of plant life. The sunlight is adjusted to all eyes, warms all soils and promotes the growth of all plants, the blooming of all flowers, the maturing of all harvests, and the ripening of all fruits. It alike gives vision, light, warmth, and beauty. The general and special are united in God's great system of adjustments, adaptations, and uses. God's general Providence becomes special by the free and intelligent action of man. Nature and Providence are adapted to the nature of man, as intelligent, rational and free. Growing out of this adaptation the will and intellect of man make special appropriations of general provisions, and special uses of general natural forces. He uses the sun to light his home, ripen his crops, and paint his picture. He uses electricity to heal his diseases, soothe his pain, light his cities, propel his machinery, and transmit his thoughts. These are but illustrations of the method by which a general becomes a special providence by its adaptation to the nature and wants of man. This places man in harmony with nature, and makes will and intelligence factors in producing the phenomena of material, commercial, social, and spiritual life. This brings the divine and the human, the finite and infinite, the absolute and the relative, the spiritual and material, the natural and the supernatural into harmony. The special and general in providence are thus united, and the divine and human factors blend in the production of the grand results recorded in the world's history.

It has been urged by modern skepticism that special providence is impossible under a system of general natural laws; that such a theory is at war with all science as the exposition

of the truths of nature. But what are natural laws? Are they causes or effects? Are they agents or acts. Does, or can, nature explain her own laws? Mill says, nature does not explain natural law. Laws are not natural causes, but effects. They are not agents, but the mode in which the Divine Agent works. Law implies a lawgiver who enacted, and must enforce the law. The Creator of Nature is the author of her laws. Natural law is the uniform mode of Divine operation. The study of science is looking at God at work. He who makes a law can change, modify, suspend, or repeal it. The universe is the garment in which God clothes Himself. God like man can change the form of His dress. Nature is the machinery through which God works. He can change His method and alter His machine. The argument against Special Providence from natural law would prove too much; and for this reason fails to prove anything against the thesis we advocate. Mind has its laws as well as matter. Laws that are as uniform in their operation. If material laws would exclude God from the empire of nature, mental laws would exclude Him from the empire of mind. Experience proves God's access to, and power over mind. But this argument, if worth anything, would cut off man from his fellowman as really as it excludes God from nature and man. If mental laws would make it impossible for the Divine mind to influence the human mind, they would make it equally so for one human mind to influence another. But this would be contrary to all experience. An argument that thus contradicts all human experience destroys itself by destroying the ground of all knowledge.

But the doctrine of universal and immutable natural law, that knows no change nor variation, is not true. There is no evidence of its existence. That such law exists is an assumption without proof. It is a universal inference from a partial and limited observation of facts, and is therefore illogical. There is more in the conclusion than there is in the premise. This violates a law of logical reasoning. The argument for universal natural law that never varies is a palpa-

ble instance of reasoning in a circle. It assumes as the basis of the argument the universal constancy of nature, which is the very proposition it proposes to prove. This is the boasted reasoning by which skeptics seek to prove a special Providence impossible. Man governs and uses nature in harmony with natural law. Why may not God do it? Has not God as much control of nature as man? Cannot the infinite control his own creation as well as one of his finite creatures? A human providence proves a Divine Providence possible. Man's control of nature shows it is not beyond the control of God. Where the human intellect and will work in harmony with the law and forces of nature, there may God's intellect and will work.

There are four natural laws that demand Special Providence.

1. It is a law of man's nature to believe human testimony. Man's confidence in man, and reliance upon human veracity, is a universal law of his being. It is an intuition of intelligence, and is common to the race. Thousands of reliable witnesses have testified to the facts of Special Providence. We must believe them, or reject all human testimony. To reject their evidence would impeach the truthfulness of humanity and become universal skepticism.

2. It is a law of nature that the natural and material should be governed by, and for, the moral and spiritual. Take man as an illustration. The moral nature governs the intellectual, the intellectual the animal, and the animal the mechanical. This same law is illustrated in nature. Unorganized matter is controlled by gravitation, gravitation is controlled by chemical affinity, chemical affinity is controlled by the vital force in plants and animals. The vegetable kingdom is used or appropriated by animal life, instinct, and intelligence; and the animal kingdom is used by the intellect, reason, conscience, and will of man. This natural law secures the results of Special Providence, and is in perfect harmony with its methods, ends, and aims. It is a law of providence as well as a law of nature.

3. The law of demand and supply is natural. Nature, or the God of nature, makes provision for all our natural wants and supplies the demands of our animal, rational, social, moral and spiritual natures. This is a great natural law which operates under the relations of nature to all living organisms. Men have generally, if not universally believed in Special Providence. The special care of Providence is a felt want of humanity. The cry for Divine help is universal. The God of nature provides for all our natural wants, and this provision embraces Special Providence.

4. The law of harmony is a natural law. Nature is a unit. The universe is in harmony one part with another. The different parts fit into, and are adjusted to each other. Man is fitted to nature, and nature is adapted to man. But this harmony is broken if there is no provision in nature for God's special care of man.

All races of men, in every period of the world's history, have believed in miracles and special providences. This faith is universal, and nature must be in harmony with it, or there is introduced a discordant element into the universal harmony of God's creation. It is thus seen that natural law demands Special Providence, and all natural arrangements are adjusted to it. God's Spirit is the life of the universe and the soul of nature. He lives, moves and works in all things. Nature is full of God, but it does not exhaust Him. He pervades every part of it with His presence, thought, will, and love. It is His creation constantly renewed. He works in, through, and by nature. Men as His spiritual children are cared for by Him, and He will never neglect nor forget His own offspring. God's providence embraces all men, with all their interest, temporal, spiritual and eternal. The lessons of nature, experience and history all show that man is under a system of divine education, training and discipline. The constancy of nature, and the general stability of natural law, is a part of God's method of educating man, and shows a perfect adjustment between the order of nature and the faculties and wants of the human mind. This is a Special Prov-

idence, or a special provision to meet a special human want. Without general laws, there could be no science, and none of the culture which science gives. Business would be impossible if nature were not generally uniform, and constant in her operations. Otherwise there could be no foresight, no no forecast of the future results of present operations, without which agriculture, commerce, trade, invention, mechanics, and manufacturing, as forms of business enterprise, could not be prosecuted. The constancy of natural law is then a special arrangement of nature to meet the practical wants of man.

This is another form of Special Providence. The stability of nature, and the general constancy of natural law, are the natural and necessary conditions of the miracle which is the highest form of the action of special providence. Without a former order of nature, there could not be introduced a new or higher order, in which all the miracles of creation consist. If there were not stability of natural law, there could be no special, local and temporary suspension of such law in which we find the central fact of the religious miracle. The general order of nature is therefore necessary to the performance of a miracle which is a recognized form of special providence. One of the reasons for the order of nature may be to give us the moral benefit of its local, and temporary suspension for a special purpose.

The objection that special providence would destroy man's confidence in nature, and disqualify him for the study of science, and the practical business of life, is without foundation in reason or fact. Man's power over nature, to direct her forces in new methods of work, so as to produce new results, which we know to be a fact, does not destroy our confidence in nature, or disqualify us for the study of science. Why then should faith in God's power to do this produce any such result? The fact is, the scientific and practical men who believe in providence have as much confidence in nature's constancy as any other class of men. And this is rational. The philosophy and logic of induction are both defective unless

you can get a basis of reasoning outside of nature. This men who believe in providence have reached. To them the faithfulness of God is the ground of their confidence in the constancy of nature. We as naturally believe in the spiritual as the material, in man as in nature, in will as in law. The will of God is as reliable as a law of nature, and we can trust mind as well as matter. The order of nature is the unfolding of the purpose of God. The laws of nature reveal the uniform action of the will of God.

William Tucker, D. D.

ARTICLE XXI.

New Orthodoxy, or the Tendency of Sin to Permanence.

PART III.

WE begin this article by setting down some things expressed or implied in this doctrine of the permanence of evil, which we accept, and which are undoubtedly true. By doing this we shall clear the way for an exact view and perfect apprehension of that which is not true. By setting aside the admitted points we shall eliminate and bring directly before our mental vision the point or points that are not admitted.

We have seen that it is fundamental to this doctrine that endless punishment is based on endless sinning. It follows, therefore,

1. That sin will be punished just so long as it exists. In this world, and in the next — in all worlds there will be retribution just so long as there is sin.

2. That sin and punishment stand to each other as cause and effect ; that they are bound together by the immutable laws of our being ; that punishment under the government of God is not arbitrary but legitimate ; that it flows directly out of transgression, and is the natural and legitimate consequence of wrong thinking, wrong feeling and wrong doing. Hence

3. Thus it is inward and spiritual, and not outward and material. Not in this world nor in any world does God shut the sinner up and torment him with external pains and penalties. His torments are those of the disordered, pain-bearing mind and heart, the cruel lashings of conscience, the moral castigations and spiritual woes that come from violating the moral and spiritual laws of our being. Each man makes his own hell and burns in the fires his own hand kindles. This is true in this world, and in all worlds. It is the eternal process whereby God punishes sin when and where and just so long as sin exists.

4. Then punishment is certain. It is tied to sin by immutable moral law, and there is no escape. As Emerson says, "You cannot halve things and get one end without the other. The parted water reunites behind your hand." As surely as we sin so surely are we punished, and there is no respect of persons. God will by no means clear the guilty. Hence in the very nature of things there neither is nor can be any means, method, scheme or plan whereby the guilty can go unpunished. All notions of the gospel that regard it as a means of clearing the guilty are contrary to the nature of things, and must be false. God has so framed the moral universe that no being or beings, however willing they may be, can step between sin and its punishment, and save us from the consequences of our transgression. Punishment for sin is the moral effect of a moral cause, and is therefore inevitable.

5. Then it follows that judgment keeps even pace with transgression. Every day is a judgment day. There is no postponing of the matter until some future time, but it follows right along with us and *in* us, every day and every hour of our being. The sentence of the law is passed upon us every moment of our existence, and we go up or down just as we are good or bad. All these positions are implied in the doctrine under review, and they are all true. They are among the "most certain and unanswerable teachings of religious science," and we accept them most heartily.

There is also an element of truth in this doctrine of the

tendency of evil to permanence. That element is in the fact that there is such a tendency to a *limited* extent,—that in sinful character there is a tendency to grow worse and worse, *to a certain degree*; that by sinning we grow the habit of sinning until sin becomes very easy for us, and virtue very hard.

All know this. All know that by cultivating a vicious habit, that habit binds us in terrible chains, the breaking of which often seems well nigh impossible. Yea, we all know that men often go very deep in iniquity; sink very far down in the abyss of moral transgression. And the warning against this tendency downward in sin cannot be too earnest and emphatic. It is a fearful thing to shut our eyes to the truth and so become the slaves of error; or to allow ourselves consciously to do wrong until we come under the power of wrong doing, and are dragged down into the very depths of moral transgression and spiritual death. Sin is a terrible thing, and we cannot be warned too often or too earnestly against allowing ourselves to come under its blighting, withering and paralyzing power. All this is known. All this is most seriously and sorrowfully confessed.

And were this all that there is to be said, this doctrine of the final permanency of evil might be true. If we saw this downward tendency in sin and saw nothing else, if we saw no light along this dark way of iniquity, no redemptive powers in the universe, no saving and counteracting forces, then we might accept this doctrine; then we might believe that this tendency would be suffered to go on until it landed some, or many, or all mankind in the bottomless pit.

Just here is the fatal defect in all the reasoning and philosophizing in support of this doctrine. It shuts its eyes to all the counteracting, saving and redemptive forces in the universe, and sees nothing but this tendency or, what amounts to the same thing, makes this tendency mightier than all of them. With this sinful tendency started, it virtually puts man in a "*vacuum*," and then essays to tell us what will become of him. In its philosophy it sets the human soul off by itself, takes it away from God and his government, away from

all surroundings of nature and grace, places it in an utter moral desert where there is nothing but death, and then argues the impossibility of its salvation. Into the problem it essays to solve—the finality of this sinful soul—it admits none of the great redemptive forces of God and his universe; but fastening its eye on the downward tendency in sin, proceeds to show that that tendency must go on until it ends in final permanency. Its defect is that its vision is too narrow; it does not cover the whole question; it fails to take in all the facts in the case.

Mr. Cook is very fond of urging in his lectures, that upon all these great questions, we must look East, West, North and South, must examine them in the light that comes to us from all points of the compass. But in this case this is just where he himself fails. He looks neither East, West, North nor South, but down into a hole; and then with flaming rhetoric and a pounding logic declares that there is no light anywhere. All this, according to his own showing, is very unwise and very unphilosophical.

The question as thus viewed is not the question at all. The sinful soul of man, as we all know, does not live nor act in a vacuum, and the question is not what it might do, or what might happen to it, if it did live and act in a vacuum. Neither does that soul live and act in a universe where there is no God nor Christ, and no remedial and redemptive forces; and the question is not what would come of it if it did live and act in such a universe. Neither does that soul live and act in a universe governed by a *bad* God, and where all the forces conspire to perpetuate sin; and the question is not, what it might do if it did live and act in such a universe.

But the question is what will this sinful soul do, and what will happen to the man, what will be his final condition, admitting his evil tendency, in such a universe as *this*, in which he does live and act; a universe governed by the "righteous Father," and full of remedial and redemptive forces; a universe conceived in goodness, brought forth in goodness and governed by goodness; a universe where God and Christ and

good men and angels all conspire to create the regenerating and redeeming power that tends to educate that soul out of his iniquity and make him what God would have him to be.

That is the question, *that* is the problem we have to solve. It is the question of the final outcome of this soul living and acting in this universe and surrounded and impelled by all the forces of righteousness which this universe contains. Will this tendency in evil to evil be suffered to go on until it carries any soul to a condition of "final permanence" in evil, in *this* universe created and governed by the "righteous Father," is the problem for solution.

And now I undertake to say that the doctrine which teaches that it will, that this evil tendency will not be arrested in many cases, but will be allowed to become fixed and permanent, is neither probable nor possible in this universe of God. This for the following sufficient reasons :

1. The doctrine is atheistic.
2. It is contrary to the nature of things ; opposed to the known character of the universe.
3. It is unchristian.

If we can establish these positions, it will be very clear that this doctrine cannot possibly be true.

1. It is atheistic. Observe, now, the exact attitude of the soul that has become "fixed permanently" in sin. Be particular to notice that its attitude is very different from what it was in the old theology. In that theology the sinful soul, at the judgment, went away into the regions of torment submissively, conscious of the justice of his punishment and submitting willingly to his retribution. According to Calvin the damned as much glorified the justice of God as the saved did his mercy, and the one went to heaven no more in the submissive consciousness of this fact, than the other did to hell.

But this is not so with the permanently sinful, according to this doctrine. They do not dream of being damned for "the glory of God." On the other hand, they are in utter and complete rebellion against God. Like Milton's Satan

they stand up in utter defiance of the Almighty. They are in "perfect dissimilarity of feeling with God," "they hate what he loves and they love what he hates." They chose evil as their good. They glory in it, like the witches of Macbeth in their diabolism. They stoutly defy all the powers of the Infinite and will nothing but sin, and the retribution caused by that sin, only increases their devilishness and adds momentum to their rebellion.

Now I submit that such a doctrine as this is atheistic. To affirm the possibility of such a rebellion, to place a human soul in that attitude towards God and then assert that it will remain in that attitude forever is atheism, and it is atheism of the *worst* form. There is no atheism so pernicious as that which sets up a power of wickedness in this universe, that successfully defies the power of righteousness in the Almighty. To invest sin with the attributes of infinite resistance to the Highest is to dethrone Deity and make his government a burlesque.

A God that cannot govern is no God. He is destitute of the very attributes that make him a God. "He doeth according to his will in the army of heaven and among the inhabitants of earth, and none can stay his hand or say unto him, What doest thou?" *That* is the inspired description of the righteous rule of the Almighty, and anything less than that is atheism. Any doctrine that there are or can be any souls in this universe that God cannot make obedient to His will is atheistic, for it deprives Him of the very attributes which constitute His divinity. It renders Him deficient either in wisdom, power or goodness, or in all three. He either is not good enough to put down this rebellion, or He has not power enough, or He is not wise enough, or He is neither good, wise nor powerful enough. In either case He is no God. The very fundamental attributes of His godhead are impeached or swept away.

Just this is what the doctrine under review does. It sets up a kingdom in this universe in perpetual and eternal opposition to the Almighty. It arms a rebellion with infinite

power and infinite perpetuity, and then affirms that God cannot put down that rebellion and render these rebellious souls obedient unto His will. What is that but atheism? It leaves us a God only in name, a God without the ghost of Divinity. This doctrine then that sin tends to permanence in this universe, and under the government of the righteous Father, is atheistic. It is atheistic because it gives us a God that cannot govern, and a God that cannot govern is no God. Dr. Thomas never uttered a truer word than when he said, *"that to think of a Being that is less than perfect, or that might be better, is not to think of God at all;"* that is, it is to be atheistic in thought.

But it is said God does not govern now. There are rebellious souls now. There are souls, many of them, right here in our midst, that stand up in all the power of their wickedness and defy the Almighty. And it is no more atheistic, it is affirmed, to say that this rebellion will continue to all eternity, than to say, what we all know, that it exists now.

To this I answer, in the first place, that the two cases are not parallel, and that it is one of the wonders of theological stupidity, that good and wise men cannot see that they are not parallel. A temporary rebellion and an endless rebellion are two different things.

We had a rebellion for a few years in our land. Was not that a very different thing from what it would have been if it had continued until the present time and manifested such power as to insure its perpetuity. In that case our government would have proved a failure. But we put down the rebellion, and so asserted the authority of our government and maintained the dignity and integrity of our rule.

Just so with this rebellion in the moral world. If it continues to all eternity, God's government is a failure, and the integrity and dignity of His administration gone forever. In the eyes of the intelligent universe He is no longer God. He is a defeated, dethroned Deity. But if He puts down this rebellion and brings all souls into loving obedience to His righteous rule, then His government is a success, His authority is

upheld, and he stands before the intelligent universe clothed in all the attributes of Divinity.

It is clear, therefore, as sunlight, that a temporary rebellion, such as we now see, is a very different thing from an endless rebellion, such as this doctrine contemplates. The one is a permanent, hopeless condition of misrule, while the other is a passing, transitory condition, and therefore hopeful. Such rebellious souls as we now see, are neither completely nor permanently so, hence they may be rendered obedient; but such souls as this doctrine contemplates are fixed as adamant in their rebellion; and hence their obedience is forever impossible. The admission of a present rebellion, therefore, is not atheistic; but the admission of a permanent and eternal rebellion is atheistic.

But it is not true that God does not now govern the world, in any such sense as this doctrine teaches that He will not govern the finally impenitent. The truth is that He is now *governing* the world, "good as well as bad and bad as well as good." True, we do not yet see the world in *perfect* obedience to God — some souls are yet in rebellion — but this is because God's government has not yet done its perfect work; because it has not yet reached the result which it aims to produce in each and every case. In some souls this obedience has been produced, and hence these souls are an earnest, a kind of "first fruits" of the great harvest of obedience that will yet be produced. They are the sample of what will be the result in each and every soul, when God's righteous rule shall have done its perfect work. All the rebellion we now see, therefore, is not a finality but a condition by the way, — a condition in which great forces are at work putting down the rebellion and bringing in the universal reign of obedience and peace.

And he who looks upon the present rebellion and argues that it will continue forever, is about as much of a philosopher, as he who, looking upon a tree loaded with apples in mid-summer, and because its fruit is now green and sour and bitter, should argue that it never would ripen, that the forces

of nature would never bring it to maturity, but that it would continue green and sour and bitter to all eternity. Such a man would no more falsely misread the processes of nature in growing apples than this doctrine misreads the processes of God in governing and growing human souls.

But it may be said, that there is no certainty that this rebellion will be put down in each and every case ; because man is morally free, and you cannot *force* a free being into righteousness. To this I answer, that it is the same old atheism, only in a little different form. God made the human soul and He knew just what He put into it when He made it ; and if there is anything in it that will defeat His own purposes, and finally prevent Him from doing for and with it just what he desires, He is not God. He has made a being that He cannot govern. He has given to the creature a power that dethrones the Creator. He would not be much of a watch-maker who should knowingly put into a watch something that would prevent it from keeping time. So God is not God, if he has made the human soul and put into it something that will prevent it from keeping time to his righteousness to all eternity. He would lack an ordinary degree of intelligence, and would therefore be destitute of one of the prime elements of Divinity. Any idea of human freedom, therefore, that arrays that freedom against the will of God, and causes his government to fail of its purpose, is atheism.

In fact, all this talk about God's not being able to *force* a free being into righteousness, if by that is meant *moral* as well as physical force, is sheer nonsense. True you cannot force a soul into righteousness by physical power, that is to say, you cannot convert a man by knocking him down. But of this kind of force we are not speaking when we talk of the moral world. The force we then mean is moral force, and to exclude *that* force from the salvation of souls is to exclude God and make all salvation impossible. If any soul is ever saved, it is saved by the moral forces of God's truth and love. If righteousness ever gets into any soul, it is accomplished

by the power of God's grace. These moral forces are the very forces with which God governs and educates any and every soul that is governed and educated at all. Hence if God has made a moral universe that he cannot govern and render obedient unto his will by these moral forces, he is not God. If man has any freedom or anything else in him that, in the long sweep of things, will not redound to the glory of God in the obedience of man, then God is not the All-wise Creator of heaven and earth, whom we adore. Viewed in any light you please, therefore, this doctrine is atheistic. It strips the Almighty of the prime elements of Divinity. Not that those who advocate it mean to be atheistic, or are conscious that it has such a tendency; but such is the very nature of the doctrine, as we have now abundantly shown.

2. This doctrine is contrary to the nature of things, opposed to the known and accepted character of the universe. It will be conceded that this universe was conceived in goodness, brought forth in goodness, is governed by goodness, and ordered unto goodness; that all its laws, forces, methods, purposes and aims were born of righteousness, proceed through righteousness, and tend to produce righteousness. None but a pessimistic or dualistic philosopher will deny this. Every Theistic, not to say, Christian, thinker, will concede it without a question. Every one who believes in the righteousness of God will concede the righteousness of his universe. At least he will concede that the "trend" of the universe is in this direction, that all the great laws and forces of creation, the mighty sweep of things is towards holiness and peace.

He will admit that this universe had its birth in the love of the "righteous Father," that it came forth of a righteous will, that it was intended to subserve all righteous purposes, and these purposes only, and that it is now governed by a righteous power, and for righteous ends. He will not question the fact unless it is in some such case as we have noted. Sin is not the *legitimate* fruit of the physical or moral world. God did not create these worlds to be a factory for turning

out transgression and iniquity. This universe is not, and was not intended to be, a paradise for demons. This will be conceded on all hands. No one will question the fact that the universe taken as a whole, does and was intended to produce righteousness, that all its great laws and forces work to this end, and this end only.

We, of course, go further. We hold that there are no exceptions, that what are called exceptions are so only in appearance, not in reality, that a deeper insight and a profounder wisdom show that these exceptional laws, like that of judicial blindness, are, in the long run, in perfect harmony with the great sweep of the universe, that they are on the side not of sin but of righteousness, in fine that the universe as a whole, and in every part, tends to produce righteousness, and righteousness only.

Now, put a human soul into this universe and start him in the direction of evil, and what possibility, not to say probability, is there of that soul continuing on in that direction forever? His sin has thrown him out of harmony with everything around him. Everything works against him. All the great forces of creation beat upon him. All the righteous laws of the universe smite him with their penalties. The nature of things is armed at every point for his defeat. The whole universe, with God behind it, is set in the most determined opposition to him. How absurd, then, to hold that *that* soul, that poor human soul can hold out to all eternity in opposition to that universe; that he can stand up forever and defy all the powers of creation working under the eye of God for his subjection. The doctrine which teaches this, is not only atheistic, but it turns the universe into a farce. Created to be the great promoter of righteousness, and armed with the powers of the Infinite to this end, it utterly fails to bring this rebellious soul into obedience. He who would mock the Almighty and burlesque his universe, cannot do it more effectually than by teaching such a doctrine as this.

That the absurdity of this position may be seen more effec-

tually, let the factors of this problem, the characters in this picture, change places. Suppose the universe were the exact opposite of what it is. Suppose all its great laws and forces tended to produce iniquity. Suppose all its powers and the whole drift of its movement were in the direction of unrighteousness. Suppose it was conceived in sin, brought forth in iniquity, and is now governed and ordered unto wickedness by the devil himself.

Into this universe put a human soul started in the way of righteousness. Would any one believe that it could continue on in that way forever? Would not every one regard it as the greatest absurdity to teach that this soul with no hand to help, and nothing but his own finite will with which to resist, could hold out to all eternity against all the malignant forces of this malignant universe, directed and impelled by the very spirit of evil, and all working to compass his ruin? In such a universe could any man believe for a moment that a righteous tendency — admitting that such a tendency could exist — would be allowed to go on until it became permanent?

Why, then, believe that a tendency in sin can be permanent in this universe, a universe of righteousness in which human souls are placed? Why believe that a sinful soul can hold out forever against God and his universe, and yet refuse to believe that a righteous soul could hold out forever against the devil and his universe? Have we less faith in the ability of God to run his universe to righteous ends, than in the ability of the devil to run his to wicked ends? If it be absurd to hold that righteousness could be permanent in a sinful universe, where everything conspired to produce iniquity, how much less absurd is it to hold that sin can be permanent in a righteous universe, where everything conspires to produce holiness?

Clearly, then, this doctrine of the "final permanence" of sin is opposed to the known character of the universe in which we live. The plan and purpose which God has stamped upon the nature of things pronounce against it.

Mr. Cook, in one place, asks whether we do not believe Milton's Satan a possible character? Yes, possible to the imagination, but possible to nothing else under heaven. In this universe of God, Milton's Satan is just as impossible as a "round triangle" or a "square circle." The latter is no more opposed to physical law than the former is to moral. The geometrician who should contend that a triangle can be round or a circle square would be no more of a geometrical "crank" than he is a metaphysical "crank" who contends that that monstrosity of Milton's imagination is an actual possibility of this universe of God.

Just here we may learn why one-half of this doctrine, as stated by Mr. Cook, is true while the other is false. The tendency upward is to permanence, because that tendency is in harmony with the universe. The flow of the universe is in that direction. Everything is on the side of the good man. All the laws of creation are his friends and allies. God and angels and all the influences in the great process of redemption work with him in his efforts to become permanent in righteousness. He goes with the tide, and the tide bears him on to victory.

Not so with the bad man. He rows against the tide. Everything opposes him. All the laws of the moral world are his enemies. All the forces of the universe beat him back. God and his government smite him with terrible retributions. The very atmosphere in which he lives is filled with scorpions to sting him into obedience. Hence the impossibility of his holding out forever in his rebellion.

We are prepared now to see that this tendency is a delusion, that what is called such is so only in appearance, not in reality; that the downward tendency in sin is not to "final permanence" because it is in harmony with the universe, but evil tends to suicide because it is opposed to that universe — tends, I mean, to suicide in the long run. I admit the self-propagating power of sin, but this power instead of tending to make sin permanent, tends to destroy it. If left to itself evil eventually takes its own life. A few considerations will

enable us to see that this is the exact state of the case, as it ought to be if our study of the nature of the universe has been correct. If the universe is opposed to sin, then in the long run sin ought to tend to its own destruction.

That it does, appears in the first place from the fact that a conviction of this truth lies at the foundation of many of our proverbs upon this subject. We say, for instance, that, "*There must be honor among thieves.*" But why must there be honor among thieves? Why cannot thieves steal from each other, just as well as from other people? Simply because it would destroy their own trade. A gang of thieves could not practice their profession upon each other without destroying that profession. They must maintain some degree of honor among themselves in order to prosecute their business. Hence this proverb is a recognition of the fact that the sin of stealing cannot be pursued without limit, that every man cannot steal from every other man without destroying the whole business of stealing. The evil would become so enormous as to fall by its own weight. Its victory, as in every case of sin, would be worse than defeat.

We say, also, that "It is a long road that has no turn to it;" "Give him rope enough and he will hang himself;" he was raised by his own petard," etc., etc. What do all these sayings mean but that wickedness will eventually compass its own destruction? What do they come from but from the conviction produced by experience that sin, in the nature of things, does not tend right onward to the goal of "final permanence;" but that in the long run it doubles back on itself, gets snared in its own trap, wound up and hung with its own rope, blown to atoms by the very dynamite that it had prepared for its own defence? Proverbs are the condensed experience of mankind — the world's reading of the nature of things concerning the tendency of sin. And that reading is most emphatically in favor of the position that the tendency of sin in the end is to suicide.

That this reading is correct, a single illustration must suffice to make evident. Unfortunately, we as a nation are well

conditioned to know just what this self-propagating power of sin leads to. Slavery in our land destroyed itself. Had it been content to be shortened back and live in abeyance, it doubtless would have been in existence to-day. But it was not. It sought to propagate itself. It would spread over the whole land, and dominate all our institutions, and be the ruling power in our nation. This provoked fierce opposition. Then it plunged into the rebellion and was "hoisted by its own petard." The mine that it sprung for its own preservation and the destruction of its enemies, blew it out of existence. So in every case. Sin carries with it always and everywhere, the seeds of its own death. Its very self-propagating power, in the long run, proves its own destruction, even as the forces of decomposition in the decaying vegetable finally consume the very thing upon which they feed.

The great law of the universe is not, as Mr. Cook reads it, it is not that there is "a tendency in character to final permanence, good as well as bad, and bad as well as good," but it is that there is a tendency in good character to permanence, and in bad character eventually to reformation; that in the long sweep of things righteousness tendeth to life and sin to death and destruction.

All profound philosophy sees this. Thus Emerson says: "Evil, according to the old philosophers, is good in the making. That pure malignity can exist is the extreme proposition of unbelief. It is not to be entertained by a rational agent, it is atheism, it is the last profanation. The divine effort is never relaxed, the carrion in the sun will convert itself to grass and flowers, and man, though in brothels or in jails, or on gibbets is on his way to all that is true and good."¹ Carlyle, too, expresses most beautifully our reading of this law of the universe.

"The best philosophy teaches that the very consequences (not to speak of the penalties at all) of evil actions die away and become abolished long before eternity ends, that it is only the consequences of good actions that are eternal, for

¹ Representative Man, p. 188.

these are in harmony with the laws of this universe and add themselves to it, and co-operate with it forever ; while all that is not in harmony with it must necessarily be without continuance, and fall dead, as perhaps you have heard in the sound of a Scottish psalm amid the mountains ; the true notes alone support one another, all following the one true rule. The false notes, each following its different false rule, quickly destroy one another, and the psalm which was discordant enough near at hand, is perfect melody when heard from afar.²"

That is the law of the universe. Evil is her own executioner, and at last "dies amid her worshipers," while the psalm of righteousness rolls on through the eternal ages, making the melody of God forever.

3. This doctrine of the "final permanence" of evil is un-Christian, is contrary to the teachings of Christ.

This follows legitimately from all we have said. Christianity cannot teach anything that is opposed to the nature of things. It may teach a higher truth than nature, but none that is opposed to it. If, then, we have read aright the nature of things, and discovered the true meaning of God in his universe, this doctrine of the "final permanence of sin" is not a Christian doctrine. That it is not, the briefest study of Christianity ought to make clear. Christianity is confessedly a mission of salvation to the whole sinful world. Christ came to seek and save the lost, and *all* the lost ; he tasted death for every man," "he gave himself a ransom for all," "he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for our sins only but for the sins of the whole world." Any doctrine, therefore, that casts a doubt upon the final success of his undertaking is, in so much, un-Christian. Any doctrine that teaches that Christ will not do what he has undertaken to do is in opposition to the very spirit and purpose of the gospel. It can be no Christian doctrine that teaches the inability of Christ to save all that he undertook to save. And as the doctrine under consideration teaches just this, since it teaches that there are souls whom Christ *cannot* save, therefore it is un-Christian.

But this doctrine is in direct opposition to the express teachings of the New Testament. If the New Testament teaches anything, it teaches the final complete success of Christ's kingdom, that "in the dispensation of the fulness of times" he will subdue all hearts unto himself and make all souls obedient unto his reign. There is a class of passages that set this forth in express terms, that teach it in so many words.

Thus the Saviour himself says: "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth will draw all men unto me." And Paul, in keeping with the very letter and spirit of this promise says: "Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him and given him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things in earth and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father." Again, "Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father, when he shall have put down all rule, all authority and power. . . . And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him that God may be all in all."

These passages, and they are but specimens of a class, teach, if they teach anything, the ultimate, universal subjection of all souls to Christ, such a subjection as shall render them Christlike. When the end here indicated shall come, when Christ shall put down all rule, authority and power, when all souls shall confess him Lord to the glory of God the Father, when he shall so reign in and over and through all souls that God shall be "all in all," there will be, there can be no rebellion in God's universe. But this doctrine says that this time will never come, that sin will never end, that there will be rebellion in God's universe to all eternity. It is therefore in direct opposition to the express teachings of the Christian Scriptures, and must therefore be false.

The task we set ourselves is now accomplished. We have shown that this famous doctrine concerning the permanency

of evil is atheistic, unphilosophical, and un-Christian; that it impeaches the character of God, is opposed to the nature of things, or the known character of the universe, and is contrary to the most obvious and emphatic teachings of the New Testament.

Allow me to say in conclusion, that I rise from the study of this great subject with the conviction of the reality of two great truths deepened in my soul. It is that in this universe punishment for sin is absolutely certain, and salvation from sin equally certain. I see the great forces of God working out no more surely the retribution of transgression than they do the moral purification and ultimate obedience of the transgressor. Hence, I can close with no more fitting or beautiful words than those of George Macdonald :

“If men would but believe that they are in process of creation and consent to be made, let the maker handle them as potter the clay, yield themselves in respondent motion and submissive, hopeful action with the turning of his wheel, they would ere long find themselves able to welcome every pressure of that hand upon them, even when it was felt in pain, and sometimes not only to believe, but to recognize the divine end in view — the bringing a son into glory. Whereas behaving like children who struggle and scream while their mother washes and dresses them, they find they have to be washed and dressed notwithstanding, and with the more discomfort; they may even have to find themselves set half naked and but half dried in a corner, to come to their right minds and ask to be finished.”

Stephen Crane.

ARTICLE XXII.

Missionary Work, and the Highest Motives thereto.

THE command to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature, imposes an obligation on Christian

believers, to meet which, what are called Missionary enterprises have been inaugurated in nearly every age and country since the advent of our Saviour.

Only thirty years after Jesus gave the command, there was, according to Tacitus, in the then far distant city of Rome, such a "great multitude" of Christian converts that the government and people joined hands in a persecution which put hundreds of believers to death. Seventy years after the command was given, Pliny, then governor of Bythinia, complains that Christians "of all ages and ranks, of both sexes," were so numerous that for a long time the heathen temples had been almost deserted, and that the beasts brought to market for sacrifices to the gods found no purchasers! The Christian fathers bear witness to the same zeal and effort on the part of believers; Justin Martyr, forty years after the death of John, testifying: "there is no part of mankind, whether Greeks or barbarians, where there are not some Christians." Tertullian, about the year 200, declares that the Gospel had been preached to all nations known to the Romans, and to many whom that imperial power had not reached in its career of conquest. After enumerating the provinces of Europe and Asia, he mentions Parthia, Scythia, Media, Mauritania, Egypt, the regions in Africa held by the native tribes, as well as those conquered by Rome; and, without naming them, alludes to many other countries and islands, all of which, he says, had listened to the word, and though unsubdued by Rome, had submitted to Christ.

Later, as pagan doctrines made their way into Christian creeds, and dissensions and corruptions carried the Church into the dark ages, so called, where ignorance and selfishness took the place of knowledge and zeal, the missionary spirit died out, and the bounds of Christian conquest receded.

The Reformation made the old order of things possible, but not immediately, as the Protestants were necessarily employed in establishing and maintaining their independence in Europe, and in reforming the abuses and correcting the errors of the Romish Church, as well as in dealing with ex-

travagances among themselves, growing out of their suddenly acquired freedom.

Meanwhile the Catholic Jesuits, seeking to regain abroad what was lost to them at home, pushed the missionary work in pagan lands with a zeal and vigor which astonished the world. With unparalleled rapidity they established successful missions among the Portuguese colonies of India, in China, Japan, in Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, and the Philippine Islands, and in Central and North America. And to-day, through sacrifices only equalled in the first and second centuries, they are zealous for the conversion of the heathen to the gospel according to their interpretation.

Missionary enterprise as conducted by Protestants, has now a history extending through a century and a half. It was a work commenced in great feebleness, characterized for a long time by discouragement and seeming failure, but within the present century it bears most abundant fruit.

Protestant Christendom has now a force of 4,871 foreign missionaries in the field, and 28,574 native helpers. It contributes annually in support of its missionary work, \$7,576-854. It has translated the Bible, or principal parts of it, into 226 languages and dialects, and circulated about 150,000,000 copies of its translations. It has established numerous Christian schools, seminaries and colleges, and has conveyed to numerous and barbarous peoples, many of them brutal in their habits, and inheritors of cruel theories and practices, the best results of Christian civilization, its untold moral, civil and mechanical advantages.

Its results have been manifold. To the immediate subjects of its teachings and influences, it has imparted spiritual knowledge and life; redeeming them from a debasing idolatry to the worship of the Almighty Maker of heaven and earth; implanting in their hearts the precepts, example and spirit of the compassionate Christ; making mortal life more valuable, death less dreadful, immortality an assured certainty; and virtue, chastity, law, obedience, realities in their intercourse with each other. What Dr. Wayland anticipated and prom-

ised as the result of missionary effort, in a discourse sixty years ago, is now in large degree experienced. "The Hindoo mother," he said, "will gaze upon her infant with the same tenderness which throbs in the breast of any one of you who now hears me, and the Hindoo son will pour into the wounded bosom of his widowed parent, the oil of peace and consolation. In a word, point us to the loveliest village that smiles upon a New England landscape, and compare it with the filthiness and brutality of a Caffrarian kraal, and we tell you that our object is to render that Caffrarian kraal as happy and as gladsome as that New England village. Point us to the spot on the face of the earth where liberty is best understood and most perfectly enjoyed, where intellect shoots forth in its richest luxuriance, and where all the kindlier feelings of the heart are constantly seen in their most graceful exercise; point us to the loveliest and happiest neighborhood in the world on which we dwell; and we tell you that our object is to render this whole earth, with all its nations, and kindreds, and tongues, and peoples, as happy, nay, happier than that neighborhood."

To the world at large the results of Missionary enterprise are not less definite and satisfactory. Briefly the most important of these results may be hinted at thus:

1. The world obtains a more extensive and correct knowledge of heathen lands, their various races, customs, opinions, and their many languages.

2. It gains interesting data for science, philology, history, music, and general literature.

3. Commerce is thereby enlarged, new ports and new countries are opened, new industries encouraged, new products are distributed, and a demand is created for the produce and manufactures of civilized life. For example: the sum of \$1,000,000 has been spent, from first to last, in Christianizing the Sandwich Islands, but every year our business with those islands yields a profit of \$5,000,000 to the American trader.

4. We thus gain, from our knowledge of Oriental life to-

day, — a life that has experienced but little change for centuries, — and from researches and explorations made by the missionaries in the land of the Bible, a better understanding of the Bible itself, colored as it is in so many respects by Oriental language and usage.

5. Not the least significant result is the reflex influence of missionary effort on the sects and churches which engage in it. Max Müller has shown that only the religions which have the missionary spirit and engage in missionary work are lasting religions. Our own observation acquaints us with the fact that the churches which have most of this spirit and engage most heartily in this work, are the most prosperous and zealous churches.

Of some of these results, the late Charles Darwin said ("Voyage of a Naturalist around the World," vol. 2, p. 192). "There are many who attack, even more acrimoniously than Kotzebue, both the missionaries, their system, and the effects produced by it. Such reasoners never compare the present state with that of the island only twenty years ago, nor even with that of Europe at the present day; but they compare it with the high standard of Gospel perfection. They expect the missionaries to effect that which the apostles themselves failed to do. Inasmuch as the condition of the people falls short of this high standard blame is attached to the missionary, instead of credit for that which he has effected. They forget, or will not remember, that human sacrifices and the power of an idolatrous priesthood; a system of profligacy unparalleled in any other part of the world; infanticide, a consequence of that system; bloody wars, where the conquerors spared neither women nor children; that all these have been abolished, and that dishonesty, intemperance and licentiousness have been greatly reduced by the introduction of Christianity. In a voyager to forget these things is base ingratitude; for should he chance to be at the point of shipwreck on some unknown coast, he will most devoutly pray that the lesson of the missionary may have extended thus far."

If, therefore, we seek for motives impelling to missionary zeal and effort, we shall find them many and varied. Taken in the order of their historic development, they may be mentioned thus:

1. A conviction of duty to obey the Master's command. The book of Acts, and the Epistles of the New Testament show how powerfully this impelled the apostles.

2. A conviction of possessing the truth which all the world ought to know in order to its enlightenment and virtue. "We believe and therefore speak," was Paul's reason for his untiring labors.

3. The love of God, and the love of Christ, and a desire to promote God's glory by declaring his truth and bringing others to recognize it, is a powerful motive. The love of God was the constant theme of John the Evangelist; the "love of Christ constraineth us," is the great apostle's declaration, and his exhortation to all believers is, "Whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God."

4. Compassion for the heathen in their ignorance and degradation, and a desire to enlighten their minds and improve their lives, that they may know and love God and obey His commands.

5. A conviction of the necessity of continuing the existence, and extending the power of a sect believed to contain the truth in its tenets and ritual, as an offset to the encroachments of those who are propagating error. This was the motive of the Catholics in their missionary labors in the sixteenth century.

6. A desire to add to the sum of our knowledge of the world and its inhabitants, their history, language, laws, doctrines, and customs.

7. Ambition for the extension of commerce, the reciprocal benefits thereof, and the personal gain received.

Some of these motives are complex, and a close analysis would increase the number that are included in them, while doubtless the number could be much further extended on other lines of thought. In view of this fact, it seems strange

to hear it announced from high authority that the absence of one motive only, would destroy all desire and effort to send the Gospel to the heathen. Thus, Rev. Dr. Park, Professor at Andover, at a meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, held at Portland in October, 1882, said: "We must be careful against any theory which would imply that if we leave the heathen to themselves they may have a probation after death." And after speaking of the views of Edwards, Hopkins, and Spring, and men of their way of thinking, who were originators of the society, and some of them missionaries, he added: "Unless we adopt their views of the depravity of man and his need of the regenerating influence of the Holy Spirit we have reason to fear that we shall cut the nerve of our missionary effort, and we might as well scuttle our missionary ships at once as adopt any theology at variance with this which is the theology of Paul, and the theology of the whole Bible. We must receive, as they received, the Bible in its main impressiou, in its main trend. We need not dispute and haggle with regard to this word or that word, but the question is, What is the current of the Bible? What is the great stream of Biblical truth? And the stream is like a river that rushes onward in one direction, and that is that man is lost, and that our duty is to work for the present generation; for if the present generation do not repent of sin and accept the mercy of God, then they never will accept it." And the reporter adds that that assemblage of learned Christian men and women received this utterance with "applause."

This sentiment was echoed by Joseph Cook in the prelude to his first Monday lecture in January, 1883, when, speaking of the influence in Germany of Dorner's idea of probation after death, he said, "It has lowered the tone of preaching. It has cut the nerve of missions. It has as good as scuttled the ships that carry the glad tidings of the Gospel to pagan lands." That this statement was based on imagination, and made for rhetorical effect, and not on personal knowledge or reliable authority, is evident from the fact that when it was

assailed by Prof. Smyth, Mr. Cook failed to defend it; and from the further fact that with the exception of the missionary work inaugurated by the Moravians at a time when their views were even more liberal than those of Dorner, German missionary zeal has always been feeble and intermittent.

This announcement by zealous conservators of Calvinism, is a declaration that the only efficient motive to missionary effort is the belief that the heathen will certainly be doomed to eternal despair and suffering if they do not hear and accept the gospel in this mortal life.

Against such a claim, and the worth of such a motive, at least two things can be urged :

1. Facts of record show that this motive has not operated where missionary work has been engaged in by those nearest to the New Testament age. The discourses reported in the Acts of the Apostles, and the letters addressed to missionary fields in the epistles of Paul make no mention of such a doom for the heathen; on the contrary the appeal for faith and obedience is based on the mercies of God, mercies that are manifest it is true, in temporary punishment for sin and unbelief, but which have in view, and will without the possibility of failure, be instrumental in bringing all souls to God, of whom, and through whom, and to whom are all things.

Nor could it possibly have operated in the minds of the apostolic fathers, if their writings are authority concerning what they believed and taught, for they are silent with regard to it. Nor could it have had any place with the author or authors of the Sibylline Oracles, written expressly for the purpose of favorably inclining the heathen towards Christianity, for these Oracles teach the restoration of all souls to God. No more could it have been the theory held, nor the motive which impelled the numerous body of Christian missionaries educated in, and sent out into the then known world, from the theological schools in Alexandria, Cæsarea, Antioch and Eastern Syria, established and presided over by Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Diodorus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, all believers in and teachers of Universalism.

The influence of these teachers it is not possible for us to exaggerate. Before the time of Origen the conversion of the Roman empire to Christianity was not expected by the most enthusiastic believer in the spread of the gospel. It was the very general, almost the universal belief of Christians that "it was to be destroyed by the coming of Christ." Origen first developed the idea of the conversion of the empire to Christianity, opposed the chiliastic illusions, and, with wide-spreading views, undertook to prepare Christianity for its future destinies." Of Origen, Mosheim says that he "possessed every excellence that can adorn the Christian character; uncommon piety from his very childhood; astonishing devotedness to that most holy religion which he professed; unequalled perseverance in labors and toils for the advancement of the Christian cause; untiring zeal for the Church and for the extension of Christianity." "Origen," says Dr. Schaff, "was the greatest scholar of his age, and the most learned and genial of all the ante-Nicene fathers. Even heathens and heretics admired or feared his brilliant talents. . . . He was a guide from the heathen philosophy, and the heretical gnosis, to the Christian faith. He exerted an immeasurable influence in stimulating the development of the Catholic theology, and forming the great Nicene fathers."

Theodore of Mopsuestia became the founder of the Nestorian Church, and was the author of its liturgy, in which he introduced distinct avowals of the belief of universal restoration. He was revered in that church as "THE INTERPRETER" of the word of God. The Nestorian Church never had any rival in missionary zeal, a fact recognized as a wonderful dispensation of Providence by Humboldt, Lecky, and Dr. Draper. Gieseler says that in the fifth century "the Nestorians were found in every part of Asia." And as late as the fourteenth century, he says, "Of all the Christian parties, the Nestorians alone had penetrated as yet into the interior and eastern parts of Asia." These were the prominent missionaries before the dark ages. To their zeal, — these apostles, fathers, and their successors — are we indebted for that wonderful

diffusion and victory of the gospel, mentioned at the commencement of this article. The dogma of endless hell furnished no nerve to their missionary efforts. They were impelled by nobler motives.

As already intimated, the proclamation of similar views of the gospel, characterized the first successful missionary efforts inaugurated in modern times. For twelve years, from 1721, the Danish missionaries labored in vain in attempting to bring the Greenlanders to faith in the gospel, by proclaiming the terrors of hell. In 1733 they relinquished the field to the Moravians, who proclaimed the worthiness and the love of God, and have to this day, with great success, continued their labors in that dreary land.

It may be further said in this connection, that the motive under notice is not really regarded as the sole motive to missionary effort on the part of those who engage in and advocate that work, even though they may be believers in the eternal suffering of unconverted heathen. John Wesley, in one of his discourses intended to increase the zeal of men for the salvation of the ignorant and unbelieving, said: "By salvation I mean, not barely according to the vulgar notion, deliverance from hell or going to heaven, but a present deliverance from sin." A twelve month ago the writer heard a missionary to India say, in a sermon given in an Orthodox Congregational church that it was low, base, and despicable to appeal to any one to embrace the gospel from fear of their going to hell if they did not embrace it. And Joseph Cook, in a prelude to one of his lectures in January, 1888, said: "It would not be necessary for me to open the Scriptures to make me zealous for missions, because the philanthropic attitude of soul is enough to give us zeal in this particular. There are three hundred millions of women now on this planet who have only the Buddhist hope of being born again as men instead of toads or snakes. There are eighty millions of women in Moslem harems. There are uncounted millions of men and women and children growing up in the most degraded superstitions, and suffering in mind, body, and estate

from inherited pagan customs. In the name of mere philanthropy and secular prudence Christian missions ought to receive a support, immediate, abundant, permanent, unflinching." And Rev. Dr. Stanley, missionary to China, in a sermon preached before the American Board's North China Mission, at its annual meeting, said, speaking of China: "This great land is full of superstition and the habitations of cruelty. Of scientific attainments and valuable knowledge there is very little. True to her genius, true to her past record when in the full exercise of her normal powers, the Christian church is an educator. To improve, to elevate, to regenerate, this is the mission of the church of Christ in this sin-ruined world; this it is for which we are in China. To this end we are to use all our powers. To this end we should employ all the agencies and instrumentalities which God has placed at our disposal. We should educate, that superstition may be dispelled and a true faith be established. And above all, or rather *using* all, we should teach repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, in order that knowledge may not degenerate into mere rationalism and issue in infidelity."

II. A second thing to be said concerning this motive of the fear of an endless hell for the unconverted heathen, is, that whatever praise may be given the missionaries who pity the heathen that they are exposed to such a doom, and who are therefore untiring in their efforts to save them from it, we are forced also to say that the possibility of such a doom is dishonorable to God, and that any theory which contains it cannot be "the gospel of the blessed God," a message or scheme that gives us a good thought of Him.

The "theology of Edwards, Hopkins and Spring," which, according to Prof. Park, gives the only stable motive to missionary effort, is not the theology taught by Jesus in regard to the Father of the spirits of all flesh. The idea of Fatherhood is not possible in connection with it. The idea that God is in any sense good, cannot be held in any connection with it. The idea that God is a being possessing moral attributes

is forbidden by it. Concerning the Being whom Jesus reveals, and whose purposes of Justice and of Mercy that revelation unfolds, the command is, "Do all things to God's glory"; but it cannot be to His glory to teach that He has exposed any of His creatures to eternal suffering; and however much our sympathy may be manifest towards the exposed, by exertions to save them from such a doom, it will be impossible for us to glorify Him who exposes them. Pity for the heathen, and love for the compassionate Christ who stands between them and God's wrath, may lead us with alacrity to point them to him who in their stead has become their punishment and curse; but our thought of the Being who thus dooms and thus proposes to relieve, cannot, it would seem, and certainly ought not, to be different from our estimate of the human monster who tortures the helpless, and who cares not who suffers, so that he may be the torturer. Who does not respond to the sentiment expressed by the late Dr. Bushnell? "That is a kind of substitution," he said, "that offends every strongest sentiment of our nature. Christ cannot become guilty for us. Neither, as God is a just being, can he be any how punishable in our place — all God's moral sentiments would be revolted by that. And if Christ should himself consent to such punishment, he would only ask to have all the most immovable convictions, both of God's moral nature and our own, confounded, or eternally put by."

The highest motives, then, to Missionary effort, may very justly be regarded as those which impel to the spread of the Gospel from the conviction that it is Good News from God to man, honorable to Him as Our Father, needed by man as his ignorant and erring child; glorifying God in its proclamation and results, as it makes known his righteousness and love, and received by man unites him to God in trust and obedience, as a child is united to the parent whom it feels is worthy of its affection and confidence; puts him into true relations with all the faculties of his being, and into fraternal relations with his fellow-men, making all who embrace it "helpers of each other's joy."

These motives have dominated in the Universalist Church in the past, as it has done its work among those who have needed to be redeemed from the awful errors which have been propagated in the Christian name; and our labors have not been in vain, for in spite of the conservatism of an eminent few, the general tendency in Christian theology is unmistakably and rapidly towards that thought of God, His character, purposes, retributions, and the infinite resources of His love which has for a century been the burden of our preaching as interpreters of the New Testament. As our labors in this direction are being blessed with such cheering promise of success in the Lord's own house, may we not be encouraged to continue them with fidelity and zeal, and preparing ourselves to reach out into other fields, and impelled by the same motives do our share in bringing the heathen to the love and service of the Father, thus hastening the time of the realization of the vision of the Apostle John: "And every creature which is in heaven and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, Blessing, and honor, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb forever and ever."

Richard Eddy, D. D.

ARTICLE XXIII.

An Outlook.

Since Christianity has attained any considerable dimensions there has been amongst Christians great diversity of theological opinion. It may not be venturesome to say that never was there greater diversity than now. But yet in our own land at least, if we look into the hearts of the people, we shall find that there are three distinct groups of believers with characteristic marks. Leaving creeds and learned doctrinal divisions on one side, the *people*, guided by their own

traits and the education of prevailing theology, lay hold of the gospel in three different ways.

The firm hold of the mass of orthodox evangelicals is upon the redemptive phases of the gospel on the *sacrificial* basis. Notwithstanding recent theological changes, the real grip of the mass of this order is still upon the redemption bought by the blood shed to pay the debt due from humanity to God. Still is their aim the acceptance of Christ, who takes upon his own shoulders the burdens we ought to bear. This is the natural, the first great moving thought in that body. It is still the motive power of their religious life and of their church work. To place one's self where the offered ransom shall avail, to lay off the burden of guilt and the terrible penalty by means of the substitutional atonement has not ceased to be the chief desire and the great object of religious effort among the people of that order.

The second group of Christian believers is composed of Unitarians, largely the new orthodox, and without doubt a percentage from every other sect or school of faith. They lay their firm hold on the saving power of the gospel on the *ethical* basis. They are students of life. They would know the highest moral law. They would build character. They would lift the soul to its highest level. Their aim is to discover the principles of the grand life of Jesus the Christ, and to make these principles active in the hearts of men. Their work is in its very essence spiritual work. Their effort is to awaken the Christ spirit and to produce the Christ life.

The third group is the Universalists. The firm hold of our people is upon the *consolatory* phases of the gospel. This to us has been the natural first mode of apprehension. The doctrine of immortality, the certainty of salvation and its promised peace and joy, are the phases of the gospel upon which we instinctively dwell. We have made it chiefly a gospel of comfort. Its distinctive office for us has been at the grave. It lies in our thought as the great assurance of God's love. We delight to present it as assuaging deep griefs, as removing the terrible dread and doubt which the

Calvinistic doctrines left in earnest hearts. Our people dwell upon this phase more than any other. It is most in their thought, in their word. It is offered as the great riches of the gospel. It has been our great missionary motive; and it is still our pleasure to present to the world the Saviour who reveals God's infinite love, and the Father's purpose to redeem all the children of men.

Such are the prevalent popular conceptions of the gospel. These conceptions exist side by side. They are distinct one from the other. There is a radical difference between the first one and the others. The second and third are in no wise opposed. They supplement one another, and may exist as parts of the same whole. This is their proper relation. They belong together. To a large extent they do exist together. Assuming for the moment their union, the great conflict is between them and the first.

Which is likely to be the prevailing method of apprehending the gospel in the time to come? Is it to be laid hold of as a means of salvation on the sacrificial basis of the old theology, or on the ethical basis of the new? The first form of apprehension has been the prevailing Christian thought for fifteen centuries. Venerable as it is with age, and having passed down through the hands of the learned and wise, as well as the unlearned and simple, it seems somewhat hazardous to predict its downfall. But a review of the history of these centuries shows very clearly, that for twelve of them this form of Christian faith was maintained by the strength and authority of an ecclesiastical system. It shows, too, that there were constant outbreaks here and there, which were suppressed by the mighty ecclesiastical arm. When the power of this system was broken by the Reformation, and the way was opened to some liberty of thought, then began the spread of different ideas. Since that time there has been a constant tendency towards the placing of theology upon a new foundation.

It is not, then, so hazardous, as at first it might seem, to predict that what is still the prevailing form of apprehension

of the gospel shall pass away. The conditions are now different from what they have ever been before. Science and thought in free range have contributed to undermine the old system. At first they were rude and undevout, but now are becoming tempered to eternal truths. They make no onslaught upon Christianity as such, and only seek to establish truth and overthrow error. While science and philosophy are enemies of many of the old phases of Christian belief, they are allies of Christianity in its present broader and more securely founded theology. The strong attack of earlier times was against Christianity itself. The able defence strengthened the whole fabric and gave life to error as well as to truth. Then the attack was from those who were avowedly enemies of the faith; or if from within, it was made by the power of the church equally to appear a blow aimed by enemies at the heart of Christianity itself. Now there is more discrimination. The promising movements against the time-honored theology are largely within the fold. The devotion of the movers to Christianity is not to be denied. Even Joseph Cook could not make the world believe that T. T. Munger is an enemy of Christianity. Every day it becomes easier within the church to step without question from old to new forms of faith. And the change is substantially this: to pass from allegiance to the substitutional, mechanical system of salvation, to defence of the saving power of the gospel on the basis of its pure ethics and its surpassing spiritual power. In the light of facts the venerable age and the long prevalence of the sacrificial idea of Christianity is no guarantee of its continuance, and now at least many signs point to its decay.

The union of the second and third forms of apprehending the gospel has been assumed. As a matter of fact on the side of Universalism the union is already to a great extent made. While it is true that our most prominent doctrine has been that of universal salvation, we have, at any rate in all these later years, based the saving power of Christianity on its pure ethics and renovating spiritual influence. We extend our view and our work over into fields which, earlier,

were more distinctively occupied by Unitarians, and into which of late the new orthodoxy has stepped. More and more are we doing this. More and more ought we to do it. For we must wed our doctrine of the salvation of all souls to practical and spiritually founded ethics. It is the tendency of the new orthodoxy to place all its energy upon actual work within the life of man, to bring to bear upon the soul every high spiritual influence, and to show as the result a man morally and spiritually Christ-like. In this regard new orthodoxy has made no new discovery. Nevertheless, though the vein has long been known to us, the new orthodox are working it with a great deal of energy.

The philosophy of Universalism derived from the letter and spirit of the gospel is grand. It furnishes the noblest theology, a perfect theodicy; it gives the most satisfying doctrines concerning Christ, and the grandest idea of salvation; it solves the maximum of problems and leaves the minimum of difficulties; it is most satisfying to the intellect and most grateful to the heart. We ought to press it and urge it till it is established in Christian thought. But we must remember that this philosophy includes more than the bare idea that all souls will be saved, and that our work is wider than to administer the consolation which that doctrine affords. We must bind to that doctrine, which comforts, the spiritual life proceeding from Christ, which stimulates and saves. No church in the time to come will be strong which is not manifest to the world as a present and active saving power. Virility and vigor combined with the evidence of a good heart are never lost upon humanity. These qualities in the spirit of the Master the church must manifest.

In this age the work of Universalists must be in a largely new set of circumstances. The doctrine which was welcomed by many anxious, careworn souls, and was the prime cause of our early growth, can no longer be a powerful means of church extension. We cannot now, as once we could, live and grow upon that single dogma. Amongst a shipwrecked crew on the broad sea in an open boat the single cask of

sweet water and the one sack of bread are of mightiest import. The man who controls them, if one man can, has all under his sway and influence. All must gather to him if they would eat or drink. But in a land of abundance, where barns are bursting with plenty and cellars well stored and streams and springs in perennial flow, food and water are no longer the center of so much influence and power. They are just as much needed and as attractive to the hungry and thirsty; but there is no such monopoly of the blessings, no such eager gathering around the only source of supply. We must remember that we no longer have a monopoly of the reasonable, attractive and satisfying form of Christian faith.

It is true that theologically and in the strict lines of Christian philosophy we are separated by a wide gulf from any sect or church of to-day. We yet stand alone as the proclaimers of Universal Salvation. We are yet without company in the open committal of our church to the belief that in the fulness of time God's desire will be satisfied, his purpose in his Son accomplished. Our theological position in that respect is exclusively our own. But *the battle of the future is not to be upon that line*. While we proudly advance with strong column, our distinctive dogma upon our banner, we shall all at once find that we have no foe. Our array *under that banner* will be practically without a mission. Our motto will attract no eye, no enemy's voice will be raised against it. It will have become common. It will be none the less valuable, but will have lost its worth as a rallying cry.

For while in strict philosophy the difference between our theology and that of the New school is infinite, practically it is no difference at all. By the New Orthodoxy the incorrigible who will finally be lost may be only one in ten millions. Practically this is Universalism. To the people it is no different from our own faith, for the incorrigible will never be found. Yet though practically nothing, the difference is philosophically everything. But *the people* will not make the philosophical distinction. Beside this, there is now scarcely any bar to a belief in Universal Salvation. It may be openly

held by members of other churches than our own, and is so held in many instances. The gates of personal liberty, with the privilege of personal theology, are thrown wider open every day. In other words, the Church is less and less inclined to apply theological tests. The battle between the sects on the field of dogma has had its day. The signs of the times justify this assertion, and we may devoutly hope and pray that the signs will not fail.

If this is so we cannot keep in life the issue upon which in the past we have thrived. We have yet a theological mission, but it is one side from the living issues of the day, which we must take up or lose our power. Our theological mission is for the study. It must employ our best scholarship and learning. It must awaken our strongest intellects. Its proper field is the book, the paper, the magazine, and sometimes of course the platform and the pulpit. But the great work of the Church of Christ does not revolve around *theological* centres. Its true centre has been found to be deeper than dogma. Its motives have a more divine starting point than the buzz and whirr of intellectual commotion. To awaken an appreciation of the *true spirit* of Christ is now the Church's work. As one may perfectly care for his health with no knowledge of anatomy, of processes or functions, unfamiliar with the terminology of medicine or hygiene, with no opinions upon the knotty questions with which the learned wrestle; so now it is coming to be recognized that the Church's work with the people is not to occupy them with the dry bones of theological anatomy, but to present the *living Christ*; to cause their hearts to beat with the glow of spiritual health; to keep them constantly under the *life-giving influence* of the great Physician of souls.

We must recognize that the theological changes of this generation have placed before our church new problems, that the Christian world now presents to us a new front, demanding changes in the arrangement of our own forces. It was a grand thing to stand up in the early days, and in the midst of danger and anathema proclaim the wrong and sin

of slavery. A great work was done by the noble men who toiled and sacrificed in that cause. But slavery being dead, no man nor party can win sympathy or stir a nation into activity on that issue. Yet freedom is none the less grand, none the less the desire of all men. However much we may discuss our attitude toward the New Theology, or remark upon the attitude of the New Theology toward us, one thing is certain, the trend of Christian thought is changing, and the change is so much in the direction of those tenets which have hitherto distinguished us, that these distinctive marks are fading out. And the issues, upon which once we might well concentrate our strength, will no longer furnish us a centre of activity or a motive of growth. If sitting at ease, we take our satisfaction in criticising the new departure of the church at large, saying that its theology is imperfect, that it is vague and negative, pale and lifeless, and lacks the assertive, positive vigor of our own faith, we shall presently find that those of the New school of Orthodoxy have taken off our own shoes, and, shod in them, are doing errands of mercy and travelling on their mission dispensing spiritual life. If we would keep our shoes on our own feet, we must be up and astir. The race is no longer to be a theological one; but one of spiritual activity. The rivalry is not to be one of the opposition of contradictory dogmas, but the more wholesome and helpful attempt to surpass in the work of saving men from the dangers of this present evil world; of developing the pure and spiritual that God has implanted in every life; and of building up Christian character in all souls. This rivalry is lawful, and the more earnest it is, the greater will be the unity of spirit, the firmer the bond of peace. Any church in this way active will be a strong church, and will be recognized as a church of Christ.

It is for us to take up our work facing these new problems, and intelligent as to these new circumstances. We have no cause to recede from our theological positions. We need not abate our confidence in the salvation of all souls. We ought still to hold this as an important Christian dogma, and as

necessary to complete a true Christian philosophy. If while we do this we lay hold of the Gospel on its ethical and spiritual side, combining a lofty and satisfying theology with an earnest spiritual activity ever working out grand results, great indeed will be the power of our church. We must not only be faithful to the dogmatic truths of the Gospel, but above all must be inspired by the Christ life, directing our activity to the awakening of dormant souls, the cure of sin in its many shapes, to the uplifting of the world to Christ. Then whatever the commotion in the religious world, whatever the sharp conflict, whatever the tendency or success of parties, true to the Christ life, we cannot fail forever to find a place and a work.

Rev. W. S. Woodbridge.

ARTICLE XXIV.

Christianity and Intellectual Culture.

EDUCATION is a process, made possible by the law of progress. What makes the difference between the child and the man? Growth, moral and intellectual as well as physical. With our idea of man we associate not merely or chiefly a mass of bone and muscle, but manhood which is the result of the growth of the intellectual and moral nature. Without this we should behold only a grown up baby, destitute of all the characteristics that give us the idea of man. The child acts, thinks, speaks as an undeveloped being, full of infinite possibilities, perhaps, but exhibiting no coherence of thought or maturity of powers. He knows only "in part." He sees "through a glass darkly." When he becomes a man, his powers of perception are quickened, his sphere of observation is enlarged, his vision cleared of its dimness and his reasoning becomes logical and consistent. What makes this difference in the same being at these two stages of his life?

It is education. By this the result is achieved. As the man looks upon the world very differently from the child, so the enlarged and cultured intellect looks upon religious truth with a broader and clearer vision than the undeveloped, ignorant soul. In other words, the education of the intellect plays an important part in the understanding and appreciation of Christian truth. This proposition is so nearly self-evident, that I do not propose in this article to endeavor so much to prove it, as to illustrate and enforce it.

Before proceeding farther in this discussion, I wish to meet what some may deem an objection to the proposition.

It is claimed by all, and rightly, that Christianity is adapted to all classes of men, those in low and in high social position, the poor and the rich, the boorish and the refined, the ignorant and the learned. This is true. Christian truth as presented by Jesus and his apostles, is fitted to supply the moral and spiritual needs of all conditions and grades of humanity, from the lowest to the highest. The poor and the illiterate are the blessed recipients of its priceless treasures. It is the bread of life and the water of salvation to all earth's needy children. This is its superlative glory. When Jesus was on the earth he proclaimed "glad tidings to the poor," he preached "deliverance to the captives," he healed the broken-hearted," and comforted "all that mourn," without regard to their progress in knowledge or their growth in intellectual culture. "The common people heard him gladly," because he adapted his methods of instruction to their condition, and in the plainest terms proclaimed the truth which they needed. Multitudes of all ranks and conditions crowded around him and listened with delight to his message of salvation, which was "as cold water to the thirsty soul and good news from a far country." And it has been so ever since. Wherever the Gospel has been preached in its fulness and power by the true followers of Jesus, the people have listened with satisfaction and delight.

Furthermore, all could understand the meaning of the words he uttered. They were plain and simple. Some did

not comprehend the full significance and ultimate reach of his utterances, but they understood enough to verify in their character and lives the profound significance of this truth. They were enabled to receive and digest enough of it to make them "wise unto salvation" and prepare them to enter into the joys of his kingdom.

Jesus did not establish a "literary aristocracy," or limit the blessings of his kingdom to "the wise and the prudent," but "revealed them unto babes" in knowledge and understanding, and he thus established a universal Gospel. While gratefully acknowledging the wide scope of the Gospel which is its peculiar glory, I have a different purpose to subserve in this article. I want to show that the Gospel is fitted to satisfy, to the utmost, the rational desires of the most capacious intellect and meet the demands of the highest culture. These two departments in the domain of Christianity are not hostile to each other, but one is the complement of the other. Christianity is progressive in its workings in the human soul, and it will not be complete as a practical power until every soul, developed and undeveloped, is filled with its divine influence. The elements of infinite progress lie in every soul, and it is the province of Christianity to reach and put into active exercise all these elements and bring them into harmony with the divine purpose so that "the path of the just" shall be as "the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day." yea "till we all come in the unity of faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." Eph. iv. 18.

1. The cultured and enlarged intellect necessarily takes a clearer and broader view of religious truth than the uneducated and undeveloped. The one occupies a higher point of vision and enjoys a more commanding view than the other, who has not yet emerged from the shadowy ravine. What is Christianity? It is revealed truth flowing from the great Source of all truth, and designed to enlighten and stimulate the emotional part of our being. Its legitimate effect is to

purify the soul, free it from sin, and bring it, redeemed and ennobled, into harmony with God's spirit. This is accomplished through the restraining influence of fear and the sanctifying power of God's love. It is a law of our mental being that man's moral and emotional nature can be excited only through the medium of the intellect. All philosophers recognize this law, and all true reformers act in accordance with it. In this way only can they influence men. By what means, for instance, can a man be induced to love God? By bringing home to the mind the idea that God loves him. The apostle says, "We love him because he first loved us." His character is presented to us as lovely, and we are attracted to him and love him in return, while a hateful character would repel us. The idea of what he is and what he is doing for us, antedates the feeling that is awakened in our hearts towards him. We shall not be suitably affected by the fact, of Christ's suffering and dying for us, sinners, until we acknowledge the fact of his incarnation, realize the object and influence of his mission and the motives which moved him in his work of redemption. And this is the province of the intellect. This done, the heart is touched.

Thus may we affirm of all the doctrines of Christianity. They are cognized by the intellect before they can mould the character and affect the life. And the degree of intellectual development must determine, to a large extent, the clearness of our vision and the nature and degree of Christ's influence upon our conscience and our heart. Take the doctrine of the divine nature. Acknowledging Hamilton's theory of the inability of the finite mind to comprehend the infinite, we assume that we can learn something of God, if not as an absolute Being, yet as sustaining certain relations to us which we can understand. And the idea of the divine attributes upon which these relations rest, is gradually developed in our minds. And the more we expand and discipline our mental powers by study, the nearer can we approach the idea of God as a Being within our comprehension. Thus we can gain a clearer knowledge of him, if not as an infinite Being, yet of One whom we can imitate and serve.

The Athenians worshiped "an unknown God." As Christians we are not compelled to do this, for Christ has revealed him to us as our Father and Friend. Yet to the mind of the child, or the undeveloped mind of the man, how crude and mythical does he appear! If not an "unknown" Being, yet one very little elevated above our notion of a man, having hands, feet, eyes and ears, loving, hating, choosing favorites, casting off his children from his presence, sitting down, rising up, moving on the wind, gliding along the thunder-cloud, seated on a throne, as a great judgment-seat, looking and acting verily like a man. This anthropopathic and anthropomorphic mode of conceiving God is characteristic of childhood and barbarism. The child has no other idea of God than that of a venerable old man with whitened locks. Peoples in the early ages of their history conceive of him in the same way. The Jews, emerging from the semi-barbarism and idolatry of Abraham's immediate ancestors, were not able to conceive of Deity as a personal Spirit. Indeed they had no word in their language to express such an idea. So they conceived him not in the abstract, but concrete, giving him the form of an old man, having the feelings, passions, loves, hates, jealousies of a human being. They "limited the Holy One of Israel," as many do at the present day. The intellect must be expanded and made familiar with abstract conceptions before man can conceive of him as an infinite Spirit, unlimited and bodiless. Only such minds can take this just and noble view of him.

Reason and faith have long been placed in antagonism by those who have had only obscure views of their nature and relations to each other. A quaint old English writer says of them: they "resemble the two sons of the patriarch; Reason is the first-born, but faith inherits the blessing." We often believe, doubtless, before we begin to reason. The child does. It may be true, what theologians generally have maintained, from Augustine to Prof. G. P. Fisher of the Yale Divinity School, that Faith rests on "a moral basis," or as expressed by Anselm: "I believe that I may understand."

Still we must acknowledge that breadth of understanding enlarges the sphere of Faith, and aids thus in removing doubt and pouring light into the supernatural world. Rogers, in his celebrated Essay, has distinctly shown that Reason and Faith go together as twin sisters, that "by day the eyes of Reason are the guide of Faith, and by night the ear of Faith is the guide of Reason." Intellectual enlightenment has done much towards giving us a just and proportionate view of the objects that pertain to the spiritual realm. The Schoolmen attempted to reconcile the two, but they failed by reason of their partial, one-sided intellectual development. The problem could be solved only by the expanse of knowledge and breadth of culture pertaining to this later age. Though faith is not "sight," it is, as Paul tells us, Heb. xiii., "the assurance of things hoped for, the proving of things not seen," [or 'the conviction,' Amer. Rev.] Rev. Ver. Whichever translation we adopt, we cannot deny that Paul's doctrine implies that reason, intuition and other elements of our intellectual being, have something to do with faith. Without reason, it becomes credulity and superstition, and thus proves an obstacle instead of an aid in the promotion of religion. For these, as the offspring of unenlightened faith, have marked the ages of ignorance and made Christian worship a bar to the progress of religion and morality in the world.

Next consider the scope and permanence of Christ's kingdom. Its aim is wide as the human race; its duration, lasting as God and the human soul. As the prophet Daniel presents it: "There was given him dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all people, nations and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away," vii. 14. Thus are we permitted to view it as anticipated by the eye of faith. And can we believe that the enlargement of our field of intellectual vision will not enable us to obtain a wider and clearer conception of the grand and far-reaching scope of the Christian plan? I once heard Rev. Dr. E. H. Chapin, with an outburst of eloquence seldom exhibited even by that great orator, in substance say: "There

are some poor souls, so small, so narrow-minded, so withered up, that they cannot take in the great idea of a world's salvation such as Jesus proclaimed and Paul defended." It is so. We pity them. They are benighted and cannot see. It is not want of spiritual insight, for some of this class have this in abundance. It is not prejudice merely. It is not their narrow system of faith merely, that subjects them to this sad condition of impotence. It is due partially, at least, to the want of intellectual breadth. Their intellects must be enlarged as well as their sympathies expanded. Then only can they comprehend, to the full extent, the relations of God to His kingdom and the vast plans which He has conceived and perfected for the redemption of His great family of human souls. Breadth of culture will aid us to see clear and far into the domain of revealed truth and the great purposes of Jesus' mission into the world. This is also needed to prepare the mind for enjoying the beauties and glories of the celestial kingdom, as seeing it in the day of the grand consummation when "the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

Time fails me to extend the examination into other departments of the Christian system. This examination would, in every instance, result in impressing us with the importance and necessity of cultivating our intellectual powers in connection, let me say with emphasis, with the purifying and strengthening of our moral nature, if we would get the clearest and noblest view of the elements that enter into the completion of the great plan of Christian truth. Sin beclouds the mind and unfits it for discerning intellectual, to say nothing of moral truth. The teachings of Jesus are "spiritually discerned," and the mind, darkened by sin and error, cannot see them in their just and symmetrical proportions. We may obtain an æsthetic view of Jesus and his truth, such as Renan had when he, in his imagination, beheld Jesus as a beautiful, yet real personage walking over the plains and through the vales of Palestine; or Strauss, who tried to prove that Jesus was only a myth, yet was constrained to pronounce

him the purest and noblest character that ever lived in the world, and his ethical teachings the most perfect; or Rousseau, who rejected the historical verity of Christianity, yet could not refrain, through the power of admiration, from exclaiming, "The life and death of Socrates were those of a sage; the life and death of Jesus, those of a God!"

An æsthetic admiration of Jesus is not enough. His truth, first cognized by the intellect, must find its way to the heart. We must spiritually know it, believe it, do it, if we would reap the greatest benefit from it. It cannot otherwise be fully verified. An authority no less than Jesus has told us: "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself." John vii. 17.

2. Christianity can supply the demands of the highest and broadest culture. It was Daniel Webster, the greatest intellect, probably, which America has ever produced, who said that Christianity was sufficient to fill the most capacious mind, and satisfy its greatest needs. The more we expand our minds by study, the more we fill them with secular truth, the more shall we feel the need of the spiritual truth which Jesus came to reveal. We cannot outgrow it. We cannot get beyond it. Compté's doctrine of the decay of religion as man reaches the extreme of scientific culture, is proved false by the detailed experience of the greatest men in the world's history. Webster's saying is confirmed by their confession. Bonaparte was endowed with a large and powerful intellect. Whatever we may think of the use he made of it in achieving that gigantic system of conquest among the nations of Europe, which held the whole civilized world in awe, we look on with admiration when we behold him reverently bowing his head before "the King of kings and Lord of lords," and refusing to tolerate blasphemy.

Many of the greatest literary and scientific men whose names are enrolled in the world's book of fame, were firm and reverent believers in the truths of the Christian religion. Rev. Dr. Edward Hitchcock once remarked in my hearing,

that "the most gifted minds, and indeed a large majority of all minds that have devoted themselves to inductive science, have been friends of religion." In this category we may enumerate Kepler, Newton, Copernicus, Galileo, Pascal, Boyle, Linnæus, Black, Dalton, Herschel, Brewster, Whewell, Sedgwick, Owen, Pierce of Harvard, Silliman of Yale, Lyell, the geologist, and many others, whose names are not destined to die, and, as a striking example among them, President Hitchcock himself, who united profound research and honest inquiry in science with a most reverent and humble faith. If you adduce as examples of skeptical tendencies, Draper, Tyndall, Huxley, Darwin, and others of that school, I would say that they are not such pronounced skeptics as many religionists take them to be, as most of them treat religion with respect, if not with reverence, and what is called their skepticism may approach nearer the true faith than we have supposed.

But admitting, as facts compel us to admit, that there are skeptics among scientific men, can we assert with positive assurance that it is the study of science which has made them skeptics? We can conceive why physicians and physicists may become averse to acknowledging the existence of spirit, either in God or man, as they have devoted their study so exclusively to the material that they have eliminated the idea of an invisible agency entirely from their philosophy. "They are examples of malformation and distortion in the philosophical world, instead of fair proportion and full development." We see the same tendency to onesidedness among professional men. Lawyers, merchants, engineers, politicians, statesmen, become narrow-minded and skeptical if they devote their attention exclusively to their peculiar sphere of duties, and never widen the breadth of their intellectual vision. In common with all other men, they are endowed with the religious element. If they ignore it and refuse to listen to its cravings, they thereby thrust it into the background, where it will some time return to plague them. For it is a lamentable fact that skeptics often become in the latter pe-

riod of their lives the most credulous and superstitious of all people. It is their outraged religious nature, dwarfed and starved in their early manhood, which rises up in judgment against them and drives them into the belief of silly tales and into the practice of superstitious rites.

Natural science opens the wonders of the universe in the heavens above and in the depths of the earth beneath, and its magnificent revelations are fitted to enlarge the mind and fill it with reverence and trust. The devout scientist finds new proofs of the existence of a divine Creator and an almighty Ruler. He sees God in all his discoveries, which he interprets as the veritable thoughts of the Infinite One, and through them is induced to adore him with a clearer apprehension of his varied and never-ceasing goodness. Surely "the undevout astronomer is mad," and the scientist who unfolds the marvellous facts of the material universe and sees no intelligent guiding Hand in all their movements, and feels no glow of grateful enthusiasm and spiritual gladness while contemplating them, must be something less than a full developed man, and must be shut up in a very narrow world of thought and action.

Poetry expands the imagination and chastens the affections. History lifts us above the transient interests of the present, and opens to us the broad world of human activities and exhibits man on the vast theatre of life, toiling, wailing, now triumphing, now failing, now joyous, now sad, and thus gives us a wonderful insight into his secret springs of action and the varied possibilities of his nature. Philology, as the sister and helpmeet of History, reveals the thousand modes of communicating thought practiced long since, and pictures the customs of the nations that lived and walked the earth hundreds of years ago. Astronomy unrolls the glories of the upper world and shows us "the telegraphic system of the universe," while Botany and Geology unfold the beauties and glories of "this little spot that men call earth." Biology discovers to us unknown worlds of animal and vegetable life, and Mathematics lets us into the secrets of abstract

lines and figures upon which the intellect fondly loves to ponder.

Thus I might go through all the departments of literature and science and show how each, in turn, as it is studied and appropriated, enlarges our mental powers and prepares the way for the better understanding and appreciation of the sublime truths of Christianity. Such a range of study not only broadens and deepens our intellectual vision, but it creates within our souls a desire not for milk, but "strong meat" or "solid food" which is "for full-grown men, even those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern good and evil." Heb. v. 14. The mind, filled with knowledge and disciplined in all its faculties, demands not only a greater quantity, but a different quality, of spiritual as well as intellectual food from what it needed and craved in its youthful, undeveloped state; and intellectual culture prepares it to receive and appropriate the food which Christianity offers it. The Gospel of Jesus contains a *pleroma*, a fulness of truth, which feeds and satisfies all classes of men. "Jesus is the author and finisher" (or New Ver. "perfecter") "of our faith," and he spreads before us the bounties of our "Father's house," upon which our souls will delight to feed forever.

So it feeds and fills the most capacious intellect, as Webster affirmed, and supplies its highest needs. It heals all our wounds, cures all our moral maladies, and fills our souls with food and gladness continually.

3. The Lessons of History confirm our proposition. While visiting the Syrian College at Beirut, I was struck by a remark made by Dr. Van Dyck, one of the professors, who was speaking of the necessity of the establishment of a College in which education of a high order for the natives of that land could be obtained. "Once," said he, "this whole region (meaning Syria and Palestine) was inhabited by Christians. Now they have nearly all disappeared. Why is this? Christianity never got possession of their intellects. It stirred their emotions, but it subsided because it had no firm hold of their minds." This fact indicates the necessity of the higher education, if we would not only convert the nations to Chris-

tianity, but keep them firm in the faith. This is the experience of all nations and communities who have become interested in religion. It must be fixed in the intellect as well as the heart, if it is to remain steadfast. The emotions are movable. The intellect looks at truth with a calm, self-possessed air. The feelings grasp it only to let go of it speedily. The intellect retains its acquisitions, while the feelings flit from object to object, dwelling only a moment upon each. The emotions play an important part in the performance of the active duties of the Christian sphere, but they can accomplish but little permanent work without the co-operation of their more sturdy and stable ally. This is confirmed by the events of history. The Jews were educated far beyond most of the surrounding nations, at the time of Christ, and this education prepared them, in part, for the friendly reception of the Christian religion, in spite of their strong prejudices against it. It appealed to their reason, and many of them became followers of Christ because they saw the consistency of his teachings. James Freeman Clarke, in his "Ten Great Religions," has shown that Greece, far more enlightened than any other nation, was for this reason better fitted for the reception of the sublime truths of the Christian religion. It was their intellectual discipline and æsthetic culture, that paved the way for "the truth as it is in Jesus." The Apostle Paul was courteously treated while preaching the Gospel on Mars Hill because the Athenians were prepared to hear with favor some new thing. The Stoics and Epicureans listened complacently to his revelation of "the unknown God," the brotherhood of the nations, divine providence, and the purity of spiritual worship. It was only when he touched upon the resurrection and judgment in the earth, that they turned away. These latter doctrines were doubtless distasteful to their æsthetic notions.

We do not claim that intellectual culture was the only or chief preparation for the introduction of Christianity among these peoples. We confess that moral causes are the most efficient. We only adduce it as an important element in the solution of the problem. The civilization of Greece, in con-

trast with the barbarism of other nations, was favorable to Christianity. Greek culture was far in advance of Jewish culture, and it was broader too. Hence as Dr. Clarke says: "As a matter of fact we find believers in the Greek religion more ready to receive Christianity than were the Jews. All through Asia Minor and Greece, Christian churches were planted by Paul; a fact which shows that the ground was somehow prepared for Christianity." "The large culture of Greece was evidently adapted to Christianity. The Jewish mind recognized no such need as that of universal culture, and this tendency of Christianity could only have found room and opportunity among those who had received the influence of Hellenic culture."¹

Professor Cocker, in his work on "Christianity and Greek Philosophy," reaches the same conclusion. The progress which the Greeks had made in literature, art, taste, refinement, trade and philosophy, fitted them more easily to receive Christianity. It "must have some connection with the reason of man, and it must also have some relation to the progressive development of human thought in the ages which preceded the advent of Christ." Christianity maintained a connection with the past. "It proceeded along lines of thought which had been laid through ages of preparation; it clothed itself in forms of speech which had been moulded by centuries of education, and it appropriated to itself a moral and intellectual culture which had been effected by long periods of severest discipline. It was in fact the consummation of the whole moral and religious history of the world."

Again, the peculiar characteristics of the Greeks, their love of the beautiful, their æsthetic taste, their reverence for the divine, "a ripe and pervading culture which has made Athens a synonym for all that is greatest and best in the genius of man,"—all these enter into the very idea of Greek civilization, and they "contributed to the spread of the Gospel."²

¹Ten Great Religions, 310, 312.

²Christianity and Greek Philosophy, 461-2, 465-6. As bearing in the same direction also, see Neander's Church History, Vol. 1; Cudworth's Intellectual System of the Universe, and the Alexandrian Fathers, Clemens and Origen.

One reason that may be adduced for the decline of the Christian religion after it had gained a foothold in a large portion of the civilized world during the first four centuries, is the fact that schools declined, education was neglected, and intellectual as well as moral darkness settled down upon Christendom. If Christianity triumphs in the realm of the emotions, but has no hold upon the reason and the understanding, it must soon be numbered with the things that "perish with the using." This is verified in our own land and in our day. Converts that come into the church through appeals to the feelings simply, seldom "persevere unto the end." They may be very zealous at first, but their "zeal is not according to knowledge," and they soon "backslide." Christianity is the child of light and not of darkness, and it thrives the best in the blaze of the brightest mental illumination. It declined during the long night of the "dark ages," but it came forth with new energy when the light of the Renaissance beamed upon Europe. And it is a noteworthy fact that the Reformation in Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, France and England, in the sixteenth century, followed, or was accompanied by, the revival of letters. The Humanists and the Platonists co-operated with the monks and the theologians in bringing in the new and reformed religion. The gospel in its purity and fulness flourishes most in those nations which pay special attention to the cultivation of the mental powers through the aid of literature, science and philosophy. Professor Van Dyck was right in his remark. Bring Palestine back to its former enlightenment, and the religion of Jesus who taught on its hill-tops and through its vales, will gain victories there once more, as in days of the past. Even now, where this religion has gained the firmest hold, as in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and other cities and villages there, we find the people the most intelligent. As Canon Farrar, while contrasting the vigor of Christianity with "the fatal apathy" and "gradual decay" of Islam, says: "the traveller in Palestine may be shocked to see even the fair hill of Nazareth surmounted by the white-domed Wely

of an obscure Mohammedan saint ; but he will be re-assured as he notices in every town and village, where Christians are, there is activity and vigor, while all the places which are purely Islamite, look as though they had been smitten as with a palsy, by some withering and irreparable curse."⁸

Greece excels Turkey not merely because she professes the Christian religion, but because Athens has her State University, while Constantinople has no institution of the same grade, but relies upon the Greeks who are educated at Athens to fill the learned professions. For it is a well attested fact that some three-fourths of the teachers, physicians and other professional men of Turkey, are educated Greeks. Such a fact will some time tell upon the destiny of the two countries and the different forms of religion which they profess. One great benefit which our foreign missionaries confer upon the barbarous nations which they visit, is the establishment of high schools and colleges, where the natives acquire varied learning as well as Gospel truth and salvation. They say that they can do little towards securing the permanent establishment of the Gospel until they awaken in the minds of those whom they seek to convert, a desire for knowledge. This fact has an important bearing upon the choice of means and methods for converting the world to Christianity.

Where has Christianity made the most rapid progress and gained the greatest victories ? In those countries like England, Germany, Switzerland, other parts of Europe, and the United States, where it is generally admitted that the human mind has made the greatest attainments in literature, art and science. History illustrates and substantiates our position.

Great intellectual achievements sometimes generate pride of learning in the heart which may induce some to substitute culture for Christianity. This is sciolism and folly, and results ever in a disgraceful failure. Intellectual attainment is not religion. It never can satisfy the demands of the religious nature. It is only a preparation for religion. True culture is devout. It takes hold of the heart and affections

⁸ The Witness of History to Christ, 114.

as well as the intellect. It looks upon literature and science as the allies of faith. The true scholar knows the value of human learning, and always holds it subordinate to man's spiritual nature, which he acknowledges to be the kingly element of his mind. This does not cheapen learning, but makes it the most valuable means for promoting the highest form of truth ever revealed to the human mind.

Christianity is Heaven's best gift to man. While it is adapted to all classes and conditions of humanity, it finds a secure lodgment in cultured intellects and satisfies their utmost needs. This is additional evidence of its divine origin. If it was fitted to meet the demands of the undeveloped soul only, it would detract from the wisdom of its great Founder. He has opened the fountains of Gospel grace to the learned and unlearned, the wise and the unwise, and taught us to value his spiritual gifts none the less because they are designed for all. But the more faithfully we use the means placed within our reach for disciplining and expanding the faculties of mind, the clearer will be the view we shall obtain of the great system of divine truth, and the deeper and broader our appreciation of its far-reaching and universal scope.

J. S. Lee, D. D.

ARTICLE XXV.

The Intellectual Supremacy of Jesus Christ.

WE do not propose, in this article, to discuss the relative rank of Jesus Christ. The unexplainable doctrine of the Trinity, as formulated in many creeds, is too absurd for belief. The extreme humanitarianism of modern skeptics is equally offensive. The first is a perversion of Scriptural teachings; the second is a violation of historical evidence. Nor does popular sentimentalism give us a very clear and ennobling conception of Him in whose name the Christian

worships. We are told of "the weeping Christ," "the man of sorrows," and "the poor wayfarer." We admit that tenderness for wandering prodigals, sorrow for human suffering and worldly poverty, were characteristics of Christ. Saint and savage, the wise and ignorant are drawn toward Him because they have human hearts. But may not earnest believers lay too much stress on these phases of Christ's character? And, as a logical deduction, from such premises, the greatest of modern skeptics, Renan, condescendingly remarks that "He was a youth well calculated to win the love of children and Syrian maids." But tenderness, humility and tears do not revolutionize society, organize empires, and establish moral codes and religious systems. They do not give an impetus to the human soul which deepens and broadens as the centuries go on. They do not meet every human being on his own level, and stimulate him to heroic efforts by revealing glimpses of a higher life. This universality of Christ, though an unsolved problem to the greatest intellectual prodigy of earth. Napoleon, is to us, at the present day, a simple truth. Christ alone, of all reformers, was able to measure the extent of human possibilities. To the leaders of human thought the human soul was limited in its capabilities, while the truth is that, like its Author, it is past finding out. Its grandest achievements, in any department of action or knowledge, from the earth beneath to God above, instead of exhausting its powers, only qualifies it for more vigorous efforts. Before the Advent the wisest and best failed to recognize this important fact. They might boast that what man has done they could do, but failed to perceive that what any one man has done, only prepares other men to do more. And this, apparently, limitless power of the human soul Christ was the first to discover, and it became the central force of his system. And the intellect that could discover this truth, which Plato and Socrates failed to see, raised him above the most favored of the race; while the perception that the worth of the individual is not dependent on condition, made him the "friend of sinners." He could pause in a

journey to give sight to a beggar, and in his speech to rebuke those who would keep children from his presence ; yet, without effort, he could meet the learned in the pride of their culture with a keenness which confused and confounded them. As illustrative examples, we refer the reader to his reply to the Pharisees when they demanded by what authority he acted as a public teacher, and to the record concerning the tribute money.¹

Emerson more than hints that Plato is the embodiment of human thought, since Greek, Roman and Christian claim the Athenian.² We are told, too, that the influence of St. Augustine is felt on our remotest frontier.³ Still, the element of universality was lacking, both in the Philosopher and Saint. Compared with Christ they were, intellectually, men of small stature and narrow perceptions. To the first, the toiling masses were no more akin than rats and mice. The second could believe in partialism of a fearful nature.

We know but little respecting the boyish life and early manhood of Christ. His wonderful precocity is proved by the significant and suggestive statement, that at the age of twelve he conversed intelligently on the most important subjects with the educated men of his time. And this silence of his four biographers, on his early life, is remarkable. By his wisdom he taught philosophers, by his calm courage shamed the hero, by his endurance became an example to martyrs, by his purity dimmed the halo of saints ; yet, his life for nearly thirty years is to us a blank. Nor have we any evidence, that he awoke to the consciousness of his great strength and wonderful mission until his baptism.

The revelation drove him into the wilderness. The consciousness of his ability to become the chief actor in the world's history made him seek solitude, for the purpose of maturing his plans. He could change stones into bread. He could, by some extraordinary feat, prove himself the long anticipated and much desired Messiah, and gratify a laudable

¹Presuming the reader is familiar with the Four Gospels, we will not give chapter and verse.

²*Representative Men : Plato the Philosopher.*

³Clark's *Epochs and Events.*

ambition by saving his nation from threatened destruction. He could even, as a military genius, conquer the world. But his knowledge of human possibilities and human needs saved him from prostituting his wonderful powers to personal ambition and worldly fame. He stood near to God, and felt his nearness to man. His work was to elevate man to a practical recognition of the Divine Fatherhood and human brotherhood. And from this plan of action he never swerved. Three times the load which Deity laid upon him seemed greater than his strength. Once, on the Mount of Transfiguration, Moses and Elias came to prepare him for his near approaching suffering. He shrank from his terrible baptism. The scene in the Garden has passed into history, and lives in every noble heart. But while he saw, from the beginning, the agony his course would bring on himself, yet with a calmness, a dignity, a zeal worthy of the prophet's prediction and his own legitimate success, he "trode the wine-press alone." He was saddened by the sinful perversity of his nation and wept, when he spoke of their coming calamities. Weary with toil, he could sleep in the cabin of a fisherman's boat, or seek the refreshing solitude of the mountain field; thirsty and hungry, he could sit by a well and patiently wait till some one should come and draw water for him. But he never changed his plans, and though but three short years were allowed to establish his religion, yet in the pangs of death, instead of regrets that he had done so little, he could triumphantly say, "It is finished."

It may seem like waste of time to notice the intellectual superiority of Christ to the educated classes of his day. We have already noticed this point. But we will not claim too much. They were accurate judges of the formal. The slightest variation in the observance of the ritual, they severely condemned. By this observance they judged character. But Christ had little love for outward form. He cared not whether men worshiped in Jerusalem or Samaria, so long as they worshiped. And we may suppose the high churchmen among the Jews were disturbed to hear an uneducated peas-

ant from Galilee rebuke their assumptions. They were confused, silenced and finally enraged. Their fears were not allayed, their malice was not gratified until they saw him on the cross. Yet this point need not detain us. It is a familiar subject to those who understand the Four Gospels. Christ not only overcame his opponents, but claimed superiority over the greatest, best and most renowned of the Hebrew nation. When the Jews were inclined to boast of their descent from Abraham, he quietly replied, "Before Abraham was I am." They felt that Solomon's glory was part of their national heritage. A thousand years had passed since the death of their great king. The nation had forgotten his violation of the law, the load his extravagance had laid upon their ancestors, his licentiousness and gloomy yet kingly skepticism.³ The nation had forgotten that Solomon was responsible for the general corruption of manners which was fostered during his long reign, and, immediately after his death, resulted in the division of the empire, and ultimately in its subjugation by Nebuchadnezzar.⁴ The people only remembered his wonderful intellectuality and outward glory. But Christ, conscious of his superiority to the greatest of the Hebrew monarchs, said: "The Queen of the South shall rise up and condemn you." She came from her distant kingdom, to see the glory of the great king, and hear his wise talk; and behold, a greater than Solomon is here, but you do not recognize him, you will not listen to his words. Jonah, who was not one of your most eminent prophets, nor yet a very exemplary man, could make a king tremble on his throne, and by his warning cry caused the dissolute inhabitants of Nineveh to repent; but you heed not the words of one who was greater than the ancient prophet. He not only claimed superiority to one king and one prophet, but he made a similar claim regarding the most eminent actors in the history of a nation distinguished for illustrious men. John the Baptist was the greatest of the prophets, and David, Elisha and Josiah were his inferiors. Yet he significantly says that the humblest of his

³ Book of Ecclesiastes.

⁴ Books of Chronicles and Kings; also Josephus.

followers is greater than even John. If so, what rank does Christ claim for himself?

These and similar assumptions of supremacy Christ often repeats. "Thus saith the Lord" was the clarion cry of the ancient prophets, but Christ says, "I came forth from the Father." "Who by searching can find out God?" The reply is, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." "Wherewith (that is with what sacrifice) shall I come before the Lord?" were the words of Micah, perhaps of Baalim; but Christ replies to such inquiries, "No man cometh to the Father but by me." The prophets prayed for light, strength and guidance; Christ informs us that he is the "Way, the Truth and the Life." He even claims to be one with the Father. He is a king, and from his palace sends imperial invitations to a royal entertainment, and woe to those who do not accept. Even those who accept must clothe themselves for the occasion. He is the bridegroom, and while he is present no worldly sorrow shall mar the festivities of the marriage entertainment. He is the shepherd, and will protect his flock. He is the final Judge, and from his decision there is no appeal. Belief in His supremacy was the foundation of a church against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. "I am the vine, ye are the branches." I stand between the Father and you, and in my name you must pray. You think that none but God can forgive sins. But I can do it as easily as I can heal a sick man. And after all these assumptions He even says, I have many more things to tell you, but you cannot bear them now.⁵

Even in the most critical situations, he made no abatement of his lofty claims. His enemies sought to destroy him before he had accomplished his mission. He met their intrigues with dignified defiance. "No man hath power to take my life." When my work is finished I shall die. When urged to rebuke the children who were singing, "Hosannas to the Son of David," he calmly said, If they should cease the stones would cry out. When arrested, the majesty of his presence overawed the guard, and he told his captors that his

⁵This is our understanding of St. John xvi. 15-19. See also Eph. i. 30, 32.

foes were weak before him ; for even now, if I pray to the Father he will send angels to my rescue. When arraigned before the Ecclesiastical court, and adjured to tell his judge his name and rank, he did not equivocate, though aware that his life depended on his words. On his way to the cross, he rose superior to the terrible situation, and endeavored to console those women who mourned the sudden termination of his sublime career. Nor did he compromise his claim to superiority in the agonies of death, but kindly remembered those who had been influential in procuring his condemnation, by praying for their forgiveness and urging in their behalf the only conceivable excuse for their guilt—"they know not what they do."

All His teachings are predicated on the superiority of the Teacher. His disciples were to believe in him, obey him, preach him and him alone. Their love for him was to be stronger than life—indeed, love for their dearest relative must seem like hate, compared to the love they had for him. For his sake they were to sacrifice all that most men desire and suffer all that most men avoid. They were not only to endure the most terrible sufferings for his sake, but, in the midst of them, they were to rejoice because of their worthiness to suffer for their King and Lord.

The assumption of superiority which we have noticed, and the wonderful strength of mind and purpose so conspicuous in his whole career, were not the result of vanity or pride. He did not, like Alexander, perform mighty works, to make men praise him. He never seemed conscious of doing anything but simple duty. He considered himself the pattern of humility. In his touching call to the weary and heavy laden, he affirms that he is meek and lowly in spirit. He could wash the feet of his disciples, not so much because of his humility, as to show that what is considered menial service confers honor on a king when performed to elevate humanity.

We have not entered on the debatable ground of the supernatural agency, by the aid of which, in the opinion of Christians, Christ performed his mighty works—works to

which the Author of our religion refers to prove his Messiahship. The whole subject is to us unfathomable. We cannot even define the word miracle. We do not understand the forces of nature. We are ignorant of the exact relationship which Deity sustains to the material world, or the human soul. We are ignorant of the full power which mind can exert over matter. With the aid of science, and *science is only exact knowledge*, we soon find ourselves confronted by the unknown, but not unknowable. Here we pause. Yet we know that the human intellect in unfolding, not creating, the secrets of nature, renders that common place to-day which, but a few years ago, had all the characteristics of the miraculous. The supernatural disappears as knowledge increases. There is not a greater miracle recorded in the New Testament, and not many in the legends of the saints, than is the steam engine when rushing across the Plains, to the Indian. Yet it is no miracle to the civilized man. He understands the cause of its movements and does not wonder at its rapid flight. So, in the whole history of the world, we know not of a greater miracle than the deep-felt and long continued power of Christ over the human mind and heart. Men have endeavored to explain this by calling Christianity a revelation God's message; true, but in us it is also a growth. We believe in the union of Christ and God. We farther believe that the human soul, under the guidance of Christ, is continually approaching Him who breathed into man the breath of life and made him a living spirit. We believe that the soul, in thus approaching the Father, will continually see "greater works" than were witnessed by the disciples nearly nineteen centuries ago. We agree with Geikie that "miracles are only the momentary intercalations of unsuspected laws which startle by their novelty, but are no more miraculous than the most common incident of the great mystery of nature."⁶ We do not seriously object to the language of that learned Hebrew, Spinoza, who said, two centuries ago:

"A miracle signifies any work the natural cause of which

⁶Life of Christ, Vol. 1, page 480.

we cannot explain after the example of anything else to which we are accustomed, or at least he who writes about, or relates a miracle, cannot explain."⁷

Christ penetrated deeper into the secret councils of the Most High, than any other of the human race, and made what we are disposed to call natural laws, subservient to his great purpose of redeeming the world. But he could not explain the process to his disciples. They could not understand his parables, much less his miracles. Indeed, even to such a man as Paul, all pertaining to Christ was incomprehensible.⁸

The success of Christ, in establishing his religious system, is a wonderful phenomenon in itself, but becomes still more wonderful when we consider the means he employed. The wise and learned, the noble and powerful were invited to enter his kingdom, but they must enter on an equality with Magdalenes, paupers, peasants and fishermen. "There is no royal road to science," said Euclid to Ptolemy. There is no royal road to the kingdom of Heaven. All must enter as children. The result proves the intellectual greatness and unerring sagacity of him who choose such, apparently, weak instrumentalities. He did not care if none of the rulers believed on him, so long as the human heart felt his invigorating and elevating power. He offended the influential Pharisees by eating with publicans and sinners. Herod wished to see him. In that age the wish of the sovereign was as law, but Christ had no favor to ask of kings. Pilate was kindly disposed towards the prisoner, but that prisoner had no favor to ask of the Roman Governor.⁹ The learned Nicodemus was ready to acknowledge his Messiahship, but was confused by the truths he heard, if not terrified by the service required. He went to what we call the lower classes. His knowledge of the possibilities of humanity assured him that he must build his system on the needs of the sinner. The result proved

⁷New Amer. Ency., Vol. xi. page 626.

⁸*Ecce Deus*, Chap. vi., is worth reading. See also Emerson's *Nature*, *Problem and Sphinx*, and *Romans* viii. 39, Eph. iii. 18.

⁹There is a legend that Pilate only wished to gain time until the arrival of a regiment..

the correctness of his choice. What has been called philosophy could not aid him, for his greater wisdom made that philosophy foolishness. Kings were only transient meteors. The great Cæsar of yesterday may be a heap of dust to day. No great empire has retained the vigor of its organization for a thousand years. The schoolboy carries in his satchel a more correct and extensive knowledge of the material and animal world than Solomon, Aristotle, or Pliny dreamed of possessing. But the human heart is as unchangeable as that Being who created man in His own image. This Christ was the first to recognize that His kingdom was to outlive all other kingdoms. It was to cover the earth, and he wisely laid his foundation on the solid rock of the human soul.

We may add as a singular historical fact, yet one which corroborates the claims of Christ, that for centuries he has been the head of the intellectual and moral force of the civilized world. Every alleged or real reformatory movement, from the Apostolical controversy about form, to the modern temperance societies; every wild surge of fanaticism, from the remorseless ascetics of the early centuries¹⁰ to the noble impulses of our times which find expression in asylums, houses of refuge and hospitals; every theory of salvation, from that of Augustine and Calvin to that of Hosea Ballou, has been defended by the words or example of Christ. Every sect which has existed, or does now exist, has claimed Christ as the foundation of its religious temple. Men have not been able to comprehend Christ, and have formed theories from a detached word or half understood accent; and because of human narrowness, he has been more severely wounded in the house of his friends than by open foes. They have heaped more shame upon him, and hindered the progress of his kingdom more than the combined attacks of infidel and skeptic. When we read the history of what men have called the church, and take a survey of theological

¹⁰ Kingsley in *Hypatia* gives us one phase in this fanaticism.

¹¹ Hamlet, Act v. Scene 1.

opinions, the fearful crimes committed in the name of Christ, and the blasphemous doctrines taught as Christianity, we cease to wonder at the infidelity of Voltaire.¹² We wonder that the Church of Christ exists, but as it does exist, and never was more prosperous than now, we have confidence in its permanency and ultimate success. And our confidence is increased when we recognize the important fact that infidels are almost unanimous in admitting the superiority of Christ and his religion, even while attacking the many superstitions and caricatures of it, which pass under its name.

G. Collins, U. S. A.

GENERAL REVIEW.

*Demons and Demoniacs among the Jews in the Time of Christ—
Whence the Doctrine was derived.*

IN regard to the doctrine of Demons, their origin, character, actions, and their power to possess and torment the bodies of the living, and the method of their expulsion, we find the Jews, in the time of the Savior, in perfect agreement with the Orientals, the Greeks and the Romans. Of course this acknowledged fact provokes the question, Whence did they obtain these notions respecting demonology? We have no accounts of persons possessed with devils or demons, no allusions to casting out unclean spirits from the bodies of the living, in any of the historical, prophetic or poetic books of the Mosaic or the Law dispensation.

But when we come to the New Testament we discover a new order of things. The Jews of that period are of the same faith with the surrounding Pagan nations. The popular creed in regard to demons and possessed persons is the same with that of their heathen neighbors, agreeing in all the leading particulars. There was no revelation nor prophet from Malachi to Jesus, an interval of four hundred years. It is plain then that the Jews did not derive their doctrines of demons, or their faith in them, from any divine source, since none was open to them during the period named. Of course, therefore, they must have obtained them from some other source; in fact, must have bor-

¹²See Dr. Sawyer's last book, called "Endless Misery, &c." The last words of Voltaire were: "I die worshipping God, loving my friends, not hating my enemies, but detesting superstition." We quote him as a representative infidel.

rowed them from the heathen, with whom they were in constant intercourse.

The first positive appearance of demons or evil spirits in the popular faith of the Jews is recorded in the apocryphal book of Tobit, written about 150 or 200 years before Christ, or 200 years after Malachi, the last prophet of the Old Testament. The story is too long to be quoted. The substance of it is that the young man Tobias journeys into Media, and engages as a guide one who proves to be the angel Raphael. On reaching the Tigris Tobias went down into the river to bathe, when a huge fish would have devoured him but for the saving help of the angel; who then directs him to open the fish, "and take the heart, and the liver, and the gall and put them up safely." The reason assigned for this is that, "Touching the heart to the liver, if a devil or an evil spirit trouble any, we must make a smoke thereof before the man or the woman, and the party shall be no more vexed."

Tobias seeks Sara to wife, but fears lest he shall be slain, as seven others had been on the marriage night, by "a wicked spirit who loveth her, but hurteth nobody but those which come unto her." "Then the angel said unto him, when thou shalt come into the marriage-chamber, thou shalt take the ashes of perfume, and shalt lay upon them some of the heart and liver of the fish, and make a smoke with them; and the devil shall smell it, and flee away, and never come again any more."

Accordingly the young man did as the angel directed, and "when the evil spirit had smelled the smell of the smoke, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him." After this the angel, who all this while appeared as a man, discovers to Tobias who he is, saying, "I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One."¹

Now all this is manifestly heathenish, and not of the patriarchs or prophets. Nowhere in the Old Testament do we find such stupid nonsense, such superstitions respecting evil spirits, their power to injure and kill mortals, and the methods of expelling them or driving them away. Not even in the books written after the Captivity, as Ezra and Nehemiah; not in the latest of the prophets, do we find the least allusion to such fabulous stories, such absurd notions in regard to demons and wicked spirits. But after the death of the last

¹Apocrypha, Book of Tobit, chapter iii-xii.

of the prophets, the people went after strange spirits and superstitions, and to what extent, in the course of 200 years, they had borrowed from their pagan neighbors, and corrupted their own religion, the story just cited will abundantly show.

Let us come now to a later period, and introduce the testimony of one well known to the reader, and who brings us into the New Testament times ; and shows us the opinions and gross superstitions of the very people, almost the very individuals, to whom the Savior and his disciples and apostles preached.

Josephus, in giving account of a wonderful plant, and the difficulties and dangers of gathering it, says :

“After all this pains in getting, it is only valuable on account of one virtue it hath—that if it only be brought to sick persons, it quickly drives away those called demons, which are no other than the spirits of the wicked, which enter into men that are alive, and kill them unless they can obtain some help against them.”²

Here we have several essential points of agreement between the Jewish and Heathen demonology. Demons are the spirits of dead persons ; wicked demons, of wicked persons. They can and do enter into persons alive ; and by the use of suitable means, such as incantations and exorcisms, they may be expelled or driven out of the bodies of which they have taken possession. But on this point let us hear Josephus again.

He tells us that God instructed Solomon in the anti-demoniac art, and gives a long account of a Jewish exorcist, who following the directions of Solomon successfully expelled a demon in the presence of Vespasian, the emperor ; the same who began the war which ended in the destruction of Jerusalem, thereby fulfilling the prophecies of the Savior. The reader may be pleased and informed by the story, which we shall therefore quote in full :

“God also enabled him to learn that skill which expels demons, which is a science useful and sanative to men. He composed incantations also by which distempers are alleviated. And he left behind him the manner of using exorcisms by which they drive away demons, so that they never return. And this method of cure is of great force unto this day ; for I have seen a certain man of my own country, whose name was Eleazer, releasing people, who were demoniacal, in the presence of Vespasian, and his sons, and his captains, and the whole multitude of his soldiers. The manner of the cure was this :—He put a ring of one of those sorts mentioned by Solo-

²Jewish War, B. vii. 6, §8.

mon to the nostrils of the demoniac, after which he drew out the demon through his nostrils; and when the man fell down immediately, he abjured him to return into him no more, still making mention of Solomon, and reciting the incantations which he composed. And when Eleazer would persuade and demonstrate to the spectators, that he had such a power, he set a little way off a cup or basin full of water, and commanded the demon as he went out of the man to overturn it, and thereby to let the spectators know that he had left the man. And when this was done, the skill and wisdom of Solomon were shown very manifestly; for which reason it is, that all men may know the vastness of Solomon's abilities, and the extraordinary virtues with which he was endowed, that we have proceeded to speak so largely of these matters." ³

Here we have all the pretensions, tricks and deceptions of the Eastern and Greek exorcists. The Jewish impostors travelled through the land with their subjects all trained and schooled to the business, giving public exhibitions of their power to expel demons from the possessed. But sometimes these mountebanks, or, as Luke calls them, "vagabond Jews, exorcists," went beyond their depth, and thus exposed the imposture. Encouraged by the success of their fraud in such cases as Josephus describes, they ventured upon experimenting occasionally with new subjects; and sometimes, as in the case mentioned by Luke, they "caught a Tartar" in the person of a raving maniac: "The man in whom the evil spirit was, leaped on them, and overcame them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of the house naked and wounded." Acts xix. 13-20.

But it is plain that these Jewish exorcists were of the same family with the exorcists and priests of the Pagan nations; and that the whole matter of demons and their possession and expulsion, of demoniacs and their cure, among the Jews in the time of the Savior, was stamped with the mark of its heathen origin. There is not an instance of the kind in all the Old Testament; not a narrative of any sort, not an allusion, direct or indirect, to any facts or belief respecting demons possessing human bodies.

This fact is of the utmost importance to our inquiry, and seems conclusive touching the faith we ought to have in demoniacal possessions. If we compare the Jewish doctrines on the subject in the time of Christ with their Scriptures, we find not the slightest trace of them there; but if we compare them with contemporary Pagan institutions, we find a perfect resemblance, an exact likeness in every feature — there they stand, side by side, the original and the copy!

³Jewish Antiquities, B. viii. chap. ii. §6.

The conclusion is too obvious, too inevitable, to require or admit of argument.

But in order to illustrate the extent of this heathenish element, let us specify a few of the leading points, not one of which is to be found in the Old Testament. And let it be observed that most of these are borrowed directly from the Chaldeans or the Greeks.

1. The existence itself of evil demons, respecting which all their inspired scriptures are silent. *Paganism generally.*

2. That these demons are the spirits of the wicked dead. *Greek and Roman.*

3. That they possess or enter into the bodies of the living, and cause all manner of diseases, particularly insanity or lunacy, and epilepsy or the "falling sickness," accompanied with distortion of the limbs, foaming at the mouth, etc. — and even kill those who do not get help. *Chaldean, Buddhist, Greek.*

4. That some of these are called "deaf and dumb spirits."

5. That these evil spirits may be cast out, and driven away, by means of charms and incantations known to professional exorcists. *Greek and Oriental.*

6. That some of these demons frequent lone and deserted places, as tombs, grave-yards, deserted houses and similar localities. *Oriental, Hindoo, Buddhist.*

7. That certain kinds have a great dread of being sent into the abyss, or the subterraneous depths; and tremble before any one threatening to cast, or drive, them out into those regions. *Chaldean.*

8. That these demons had a prince or king, who governed and employed them. *Hindoo, Sabian, Magian.*

9. That this chief demon had the power of death; or presided over the separation of soul and body, removing the soul, and causing the death of the body. *Persian, Buddhist.*

These are the principal particulars which the Jews borrowed directly from the heathen philosophies and mythologies; and which have no countenance from the Law or the Prophets. It would be a waste of words to enlarge upon this simple statement of facts.

A few testimonies from acknowledged authorities may be in place in confirmation of the preceding references to the sources whence the Jews derived their views regarding evil spirits. Dr. Mosheim says:

"Errors of a very pernicious kind had infested the whole body of the (Jewish) people. There had prevailed among them several absurd and superstitious notions concerning the divine nature, invisible

powers, magic, etc., which they had partly brought with them from the Babylonian captivity, and partly from those derived from the Egyptians, Syrians and Arabians who lived in their neighborhood." "The ancestors of those Jews who lived in the time of our Savior had brought from Chaldæa and the neighboring countries many extravagant and idle fancies utterly unknown to the original founders of the nation, . . . pernicious fables which were imperceptibly blended with their own religious doctrines."

The *Encyclopædia Americana*, art. "Demon," says, "The Hebrews received their doctrine of demons from two sources — at the time of the Babylonish captivity from the Chaldaic-Persian, afterward from Egyptian-Grecian sources." Enfield, in his *History of Philosophy*, says, "Besides the Supreme Being the Chaldæans supposed spiritual beings to exist, of several orders — gods, demons, heroes. The ancient Eastern nations in general, and among them the Chaldæans, admitted the existence of evil spirits, and in subduing or counteracting these they placed a great part of the efficacy of their religious incantations." The Greeks, Xenocrates, Pythagoras, Plato, etc., taught the existence of demons, good and evil, of various ranks, the lower rank being "human souls separated from the body, or heroes." "The Pythagoreans supposed the region of the air to be full of spirits, demons, heroes, who cause sickness or health to man and beast."

Another authority says that the Jews borrowed "many notions concerning evil spirits and their operations, from the Chaldeans, and, after their return from their captivity, ascribed many diseases and disorders to these invisible agents, besides those which were not to be accounted for by natural causes; and in this the ancient Christians followed them." Still another says, after elaborating the same point in regard to the Chaldean sources of Jewish opinions, "Thus the Jewish doctrine of evil spirits and their chief was developed. Insane persons, and patients suffering from nervous diseases, which manifest themselves by epileptic fits, were considered as subject to the influence of Satan; and people suffering under such diseases were said to have a devil."⁴

Dr. Knapp, a German critic and theologian of great reputation, and whose work on Theology holds a high place in the regard of orthodox scholars, says positively:

"There is no trace of a belief in the existence of evil spirits among the Jews, until the Babylonian captivity. . . . It is not until the time

⁴Not to have a "devil," but a "demon." Persons are never said, in the Greek of the New Testament, to have *diabolos*, but *daimon*.

of the exile, or shortly after it, that we find distinct traces of the doctrine that there are angels who were once good, but who revolted from God, and are now become wicked themselves, and the authors of evil in the world. The probability is, therefore, that this doctrine was first developed among the Jews, during their residence in Chaldaea and shortly afterwards." ⁵

Witnesses might be multiplied indefinitely, but these are sufficient to show the truth of the statement that the Jews did not derive their doctrine of demons and possessions from their own scriptures, nor from any divine source; but borrowed or stole it from the heathen mythologies or religions, and chiefly from those of Chaldaea and Greece.

Catholicism Again.

THE April *Catholic World* makes a fierce onslaught upon our article in the January *Quarterly* on "Catholicism—its Relations to Education and Morals." As we read, we remembered the words of the editor: "We will take this country, and build our institutions over the grave of Protestantism. There is ere long to be a state religion in this country, and that state religion is to be Roman Catholic"—and also the words of Archbishop Williams as reported by the *Boston Pilot*: "There can be no religion without the *Inquisition*, which is wisely designed for the promotion of the true faith." We felt a trembling gratitude as we pondered these sayings in connection with the temper and spirit manifested by the reverend author of the article in the "Catholic World"; and thanked God that he and his associate priests were obliged in these days, and in this land, to content themselves with such harmless tirades as a substitute for the tortures of the Inquisition. The following, which is the opening paragraph, will show the reader the sweet charity in which our Catholic brother writes:

"A good definition of the word fabrication is "a built-up lie." At any rate, it applies exactly to a statement about our Catholic schools, of which statement the joint builders are Mr. Dexter A. Hawkins, of the New York bar; the Hon. John Jay, ex-Minister to Austria, and grandson of John Jay of Revolutionary fame; and the Rev. Thomas B. Thayer, D. D., editor of the *Universalist Quarterly*. They have jointly fabricated an outrageous falsehood about Catholic schools, and we shall endeavor to give to them the credit respectively due to them for it.

⁵Knapp's Theology, vol. i. 485-486.

This is followed by charges of falsehood sufficient in number to have sufficed for an article five times as long — “lie the first,” “lie the second,” “lie the third,” “monstrous farago of lies,” “the lie in all its nakedness,” “advocates of the devil,” “nefarious course,” etc. Most of these epithets, to be sure, are applied to the authorities quoted in our article, Dexter A. Hawkins and Hon. John Jay, but the shadow of them falls on us for having dared to cite their facts and statements in the article aforesaid.

The writer accuses the gentlemen named of “playing a juggle” with words, and of altering terms and phrases in order to deceive, and to establish conclusions not in their premises. So far as we can see his entire argument is one about words more than things. The substance of the statements of Messrs. Jay and Hawkins, and of our argument from them, was simply this: Wherever the Catholic Church has supreme control of the teaching and training of the masses, the results show as a rule a greater degree of ignorance, pauperism and crime than is found in those communities where Protestantism prevails. This is the real question at issue; all the rest is words.

And now how does the “Catholic World” deal with this proposition? By calmly proving from authentic statistics that there is less, or no more illiteracy, poverty and crime in Ireland, Italy, Spain, Mexico, South America, and among the Catholic foreigners coming to this country; or, in other words, more education and material wealth, and a greater measure of virtue and morality, than can be found in any Protestant community in the world? No; but in the place of this we have a coarse bluster about lies, malignant falsehoods, advocates of the devil, and wholesale denials without proofs, distributed ostentatiously under *First, Second, Third*, etc. As an example:

“Mr. Hawkins says that according to the census of 1870, the total foreign-born population of the United States is 5,567,229, and the number of those among them who cannot write is 777,873, about 14 per cent. of the whole number — most of whom came from Ireland and England — lie the first — countries up to that time dependent upon parochial schools — lie the second, so far as Ireland is concerned.” To this the writer adds, “According to the census the Irish constituted only one third of our foreign-born population.”

Mr. Hawkins did not say “most of whom came from Ireland,” but from “Ireland and England.” The critic drops an essential factor of the statement, and then talks of lies and deception.

As regards the illiteracy of those named Mr. Hawkins says, "Hence, at that date, our foreign-born population may be justly taken as a fair average product of the parochial mode of education." To this the writer says in his classic speech, "lie the third, or rather a whole series of lies mixed together," and then adds, "Ireland has had no system of parochial schools. She has been obliged to put up with private schools supported by the people themselves." And pray, so far as concerns the real matter at issue, what is the difference between private and parochial schools? Are not both supported "by the people themselves"? And are not both in Ireland entirely controlled by the priesthood as to the teachers, and the course of study pursued? Would the priest of the parish permit a Protestant to teach a school of Catholic children? or any one to teach such children anything contrary to Catholic doctrine? In what way then are Mr. Hawkins' statistics affected by the distinction between a private school controlled by a Catholic priest, and a parochial school controlled by a Catholic priest?

Again, this writer charges "Hon. John Jay" with falsehood and deliberate deception, because, in his citation of Mr. Hawkins' statement, he changes the descriptive term "Parochial system" into the phrase "Roman Catholic schools." Mr. H.'s tabulation is,

	<i>Illiterates.</i>	<i>Paupers.</i>	<i>Criminals.</i>	<i>Inhabitants.</i>
Parochial system	1400	410	160 to the	10,000
Public-school system in the 21 States	850	170	75 "	10,000
Public-school system in Massachusetts	71	49	11 "	10,000

Mr. Jay gives the same statement, making only the change named above, which our critic accounts a mortal offence against his church. But his outcry is a mere "blind." The two expressions are substantially equivalent. He knows perfectly well that no sect in the country but that of the Catholics has established parochial schools in opposition to the Public Schools. Episcopalians, Methodists, Universalists, etc., have academies and private schools to some extent, but not because they are enemies to the public school system. On the contrary, they are all earnest friends and supporters of it. In the sense in which the term parochial or parish schools is applied to, and by, Catholics, there are none save those established by themselves. Whenever therefore the "Parochial system" in this country is mentioned it is the same as saying "Catholic schools," and what is true of one is equally true of the other.

Mr. Hawkins shows by authentic statistics that "*a child trained up in the Roman Catholic parochial school is so much inferior intel-*

lectually to one trained up in the public school, that he is three and a half times as likely to become a pauper, and three and a quarter times as likely to get into jail, as the child trained in the free public school." And how does our brave reviewer meet this *fact* proved by official figures? Does he deny it? Does he admit it like an honest man? Neither; but like a true Jesuit he blusteringly exclaims, "If Mr. Hawkins had his deserts he would be more than three and a half times as likely to be in jail as the child trained in a parochial school!" What a colossal intellectual effort it must have cost him to have collected the materials and have shaped them into this wonderfully logical and crushing reply. We have heard from New York since the issue of the April "Catholic World," and to our surprise Mr. Hawkins is still alive, and is expected to recover from this staggering blow.

But leaving this babble about words and phrases, if the critic is in downright earnest why does he not grapple with the actual facts? Take Italy for example; for centuries it has been under Roman Catholic rule, and priests and their *schools* (?) have had the entire educational training of the people — and what are the results? Dr. Dorchester, the prince of statistics, tells us in the *Boston Advertiser*, Sept. 11, 1877, that "In 1864 the population of Italy was 21,700,000, and of these 17,000,000 *could not read nor write!*" And this is not only the legitimate fruit of Catholic training, but it is in accordance with the philosophy of the church regarding the masses, as stated by those in authority. Cardinal Antonelli, in an interview with Mr. Hawkins, boldly declared that he thought it better "that the children should grow up in ignorance than to be educated in such a system of schools as the State of Massachusetts supported; *that the essential part of the education of the people was the catechism; and while arithmetic, and geography, reading and writing, and other similar studies, might be useful, they were not essential!*" There is no need that we should go far, in the face of these things, to find reasons for the prevalence of pauperism, corruption and crime in Italy. Men do not gather grapes of thorns.

Look at Spain in 1876. Out of a population of 16,000,000, there were 12,000,000 who "could not read nor write," says Dr. Dorchester. And this is confirmed by a statement of Stoddard's "Red-Letter Days," p. 18, that in one portion of territory "out of a population of 360,000, in this nineteenth century, *more than 300,000 cannot read nor write.*" And yet our Jesuit reviewer wishes us to believe that his church or sect are warm friends of education. He even goes so

far as to say of Ireland, that "Since 1831, now more than fifty years, the National government schools have been established, and, in spite of grinding poverty and of having something to pay — though not much — *the illiteracy of Ireland has almost disappeared!*" Is it possible that any man, even a Jesuit, can have the hardihood to make such a statement as this! Let us put the following from Mr. Hawkins' pamphlet by the side of it:

"While visiting Ireland a few years ago I was gratified to see the island dotted over with national school-houses, neatly built of brick or stone by the British Government, in order to try to elevate the Irish race from the slough of ignorance, idleness, mendicity, and bigotry, into which centuries of priestly instruction had brought them. But while driving across the country one day I found, standing by the roadside, near one of these school-houses, a Catholic priest, with a switch in his hand, *with which he scourged home the Catholic children as they approached the national school-house!* On conversing with this priest, I found he appeared sincerely to believe he was doing God's work in preventing the children from attending the free public school."

And has not something like this been done in Massachusetts? and does not Priest Walker say, "I would as soon administer the sacraments to a dog as to Catholics who send their children to the public schools"? And does this not hold good respecting the national schools in Ireland as well as the public schools of our own country? What then shall we think of this writer who would persuade us to believe that, so eagerly have the Catholics of Ireland seized upon the opportunities offered by the Government schools, that "illiteracy has almost disappeared?" And this he says, not only in the face of facts, but probably after having read the pious exclamation of the *Freeman's Journal*: "Let the public school-system go to where it came from — *the Devil!*" — and the declaration of the *New York Tablet*, that education is "a function of the Church, not of the State; *we do not accept the State as educator.*"

But we must bring this to a close. The reader of our article in the QUARTERLY, will remember that "illiteracy" as the result of Catholic rule and training of the masses, was only one of three facts brought to view — the other two, the more important by far in some respects, our critic has prudently left unchallenged. The first concerns the Jesuit text-book used in seminaries for *training young priests* for their work, respecting which it was charged, that it "justified the crimes of perjury, robbery, adultery, and the falsification of documents." The charge was made by a deputy of the Prussian Diet;

and also by M. Bert, "Minister of Public Instruction" during the Gambetta ministry in France. In both cases the Catholics were foolish enough to deny the charge, and demand the proof; and in both cases it was furnished "line upon line and precept upon precept" from the text-book itself, the original being given side by side with the translation.

And what does the reverend defender of Catholic teaching and morality say to this? *Not one word!* He does not even make an allusion to this abominable wickedness; but, Jesuit like, blusters about words, figures and ratios, knowing that with most of his readers, who will never see our article, this will pass as a sufficient reply to all its statements.

The second fact, respecting which this furious reviewer is wholly and discreetly dumb, is that which relates to the horrible and revolting disclosures of the utter depravity of both teachers and pupils in the school of a Convent in Oudenarde, Belgium, known by the title of "*Good Works!*" This establishment was a rival of the Government schools. Various rumors led to an official investigation by the "correctional police," which unearthed a state of things indescribable in language suitable to these pages. The authority cited in our article states that "the investigation proved the guilt of about thirty teachers of complicity in indecent outrages on the girls;" and these were "not isolated acts, but a studied and systematic practice of the basest crimes; teachers and pupils alike seeming to indulge in the most obscene orgies." "The revelations made on the witness-stand were simply frightful." And this in one of the first Catholic schools in Belgium—a convent of "*Good Works!*"; the mother-house of a "congregation" or order which has its branch houses even in America, according to the *Flandre Libérale*.

But to all this our courteous critic, who is so fierce and fast in his comments on our remarks upon the "illiteracy" of his constituency, has not a word to say. The charge that many of his Irish friends cannot read nor write, stirs his wrath to white heat; but this horrible record of depravity in one of his leading educational institutions provokes no denial, no loud talk of "lies first, second, and third," no reply of any sort! And why this profound silence? If the "correctional police" report to the authorities is false, why does he not prove it so? If it is true, would it not be well for him and his fellow-priests to say less about the "godless schools" of the State, and more about the godless schools of their Church.

The Personality of Deity.

THE most difficult thing to approach understandingly is the personality of God. There is no task so laborious for the intellect, as that of forming to itself a clear and well defined conception of the Infinite and Invisible Deity. To believe there is a God, the Creator and Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, is easy enough, much easier than not to believe it. But to grasp the proposition believed, so as to make the personal Deity stand out from vagueness and darkness, distinct, sharply defined, and fully mastered as a subject of thought and reasoning — this is not so easy.

In spite of all the united efforts of the Intellect and Affections to bring the idea of God into this comprehensible, bounded and personal form, we find it almost impossible to escape in our devotions all sense of vagueness and bewilderment necessarily springing out of the idea of the Infinite and Omnipresent.

But is not the difficulty of forming to ourselves a clear and distinctly defined idea of God's personality increased by our neglect of the helps within our reach? How do we come to form an idea of any being or person whom we have never seen? We do not speak of the bodily form; but how do we get to any knowledge of the mind, character and pursuits of such? — for these only are the man. By reading their productions, or what is written concerning them by those who knew them; by examining their works, and considering the character of their deeds. In this way we are able to form, generally, a very correct idea of the person, his powers, mental peculiarities and disposition.

For example: We read the works of *Plato*, we diligently study his various productions, and follow the developments and labors of his wonderful genius. We ponder in astonishment over the multiplied fruits of his ever active thought; and contemplate with admiration the comprehensiveness and power of his intellect, and the vastness of his accomplishments. In this way we obtain a knowledge of the man, the character of his mind, the nature of his pursuits and studies, and the kind of genius for which he was distinguished; and we form to ourselves an idea of what sort of a person *Plato* was, and give expression to the idea in the word, *Philosopher*.

Newton — Astronomy! The two words almost necessitate the one the other, so distinct and bounded is our idea of this wonderful man. We find no difficulty at all in determining the character of his mind,

the nature of his pursuits, and almost his daily thoughts and meditations ; so definite and personal a shape do our conceptions of him take the moment his name is heard.

But by what means do we arrive at such a clear idea of the man ? Is it not by examining his mathematical and astronomical labors ; by summing up the vast additions he has made to science and knowledge by his discoveries ? Is it not by considering the definite nature of his studies and investigations, and so judging of the mind and genius of the man by the character of the subjects, or the particular department of knowledge, to which he almost exclusively devoted himself ? Certainly ; and hence the distinct idea which all men have of Newton, gets utterance in the simple word, *Astronomer*.

Take as another example our countryman *Fulton*. Almost as readily we associate with his name the word Steamboat, as with that of Newton the word astronomy. When, standing by the powerful engine of one of our floating palaces, we watch its steady and regular movement, and endeavor to understand the relations of the various parts of the complicate machinery ; when we consider what long and patient study and experiment were necessary to this invention, this glorious triumph of art and skill ; and when we feel the noble vessel throb and spring forward through the waters, like a thing of life, at every beat of its mighty iron heart — how clearly the mind and pursuits of Fulton stand out in our thought ! How definite our idea of the man as a mechanic of the highest order ; and with what correct design we draw and paint on the canvas of the mind the picture of his inventive genius ! And this bounded and personal conception of the man comes of considering his works, of estimating the results of his study and labor. We judge of him by what he has done. His works show his character.

Once more. How do we form our opinion of the character and disposition of *John Howard* or *John Frederic Oberlin* ? In the same way we proceed at once to peruse the record of their lives and actions. And when we see Oberlin sacrificing the world's preferment and applause, his means, time and strength for the comfort and elevation of the poor, despised and ignorant, the vicious and criminal ; when we behold Howard, leaving home and country, visiting hospitals, prisons and loathsome dungeons to encourage the wretched, heal the diseased, and console the dying, and seeking in every way to remove abuses, and ameliorate the condition of the outcasts of humanity ; and at last giving up health and life itself in his work of mercy — when

we have made ourselves acquainted, in this way, with their actions, with the noble and heavenly work of love to which they devoted all their days, then we shape out to ourselves the character of these men—almost as clear and well-defined as if we had known them. We have a distinct and satisfactory idea of them, their temper and disposition, the kind of heart they had in them, the great human love which filled and moved them; and the idea we have gets expression in the words, *Philanthropist, Christian!*

We have multiplied these illustrations because we think they help to show us where the difficulty and the error lie in attempting to grasp the idea of God's personality, and to form to ourselves an intelligible and well defined conception of his character and attributes, and, so to speak, of his disposition, at least as it respects mankind.

Of these persons whom we have named, and whom we have never seen or known—we are only able to shape out an intelligent judgment respecting their personal character, and mental attributes and peculiarities by learning first what they have done, whether the production of mind or hand; by studying their works and actions, and the part they have played in history. In this way we are sure of forming a tolerably correct opinion of their intellect, temper, peculiar genius and general character. And so, readily and certainly, we say of this one, he is an astronomer; of that one, he is a mechanic; and of the other, he is a philanthropist; and we both have, and convey to others, a clear and distinct idea of the mind, feelings, and pursuits of each, a definitely marked and bounded personality of character.

So in regard to the Deity. If we expect to form a distinct idea of God as a personal Being, having fixed and intelligible attributes, and maintaining definite and established relations with nature and the human race; if we would bring the idea into anything like manageable and practical shape, we can only do it by studying his works, by considering what he has done as we see it ourselves, and as they have told us who speak with authority.

"The heavens declare the glory of God," etc. His works show us knowledge of Him. From these we may gather a very clear idea of the attributes of His character, and of His disposition toward us.

"The heavens declare his glory"—literally, "The heavens number out, or display, the glory of the strong God." The first thought in considering the number and vastness of the heavenly bodies within our reach, is that of *Power*; unlimited, Infinite *Power*. When we

contemplate the size, weight and velocity of such a globe as Jupiter, some fourteen hundred times larger than our earth, and rushing through the infinite void more than 30,000 miles an hour; and when we remember that this is only one of countless millions of similar bodies which have been created, and are still held in being, controlled and regulated by the infinite energy of the Divine will, we feel that "power belongeth unto God." His handy work gives, first of all, this knowledge of Him; and the more we examine and contemplate the immensity of His creation and the multitude of His mighty works, the more clearly and distinctly does the idea of Infinite Power stand out in our thought, and help us to give shape and personality to our idea of God.

We may not understand how the power or omnipotent energy of a purely spiritual Being acts on matter; but this difficulty applies equally to man. We do not understand how the mind or will moves the hand to write, or uses the tongue to speak; but this does not hinder from a clear conception of the fact; nor does it confuse in the least the idea of personality. So if we contemplate aright the great fact of creation, and duly consider the visible proof of the countless worlds that move in space, we are impressed with a strong idea of the almighty Power of God, though we may not clearly apprehend the method of its operation on matter.

So of the *Wisdom* of God. Day unto day uttereth speech of it, and night unto night showeth knowledge of it. "The firmament showeth his handy work": i. e. the celestial bodies show or display not only his power, but his handy-work, his skill and wisdom; and the alternation of light and darkness, heat and cold, sunshine and rain, witness to the same end.

When we examine the beautiful and perfect machinery of the steam-engine, or the complicate and wonderful mechanism of a power-loom, we are at once convinced of the ingenuity, skill and genius of the inventor. So if we study the glorious and indescribably beautiful mechanism of the heavens, and observe the precision of motion, the nice balance of parts, the order and regularity of their action, the certainty of result, the ages during which the vast machine has worked without break or confusion, or need of repair — if we so examine the works of God, we shall as readily be convinced of *His* wonderful skill and wisdom, and get a well-defined idea of these as the attributes and qualities of God as a Creator.

The same result will follow a diligent study of other works of His

— the human frame, the structure of a plant or flower, the physical arrangements of the earth, etc. Look at the human frame, consider the exquisite and delicate work of the eye, the structure of the nervous and muscular systems, and of the bones, and that marvellous machine, the heart — and with what luminous distinctness does the idea of the wonderful wisdom and delicate skill of the Maker shape itself out in our thought.

And of the Divine *Goodness*: We form our conception of this in like manner, and by use of the same means. To get an idea of the goodness of Oberlin or Howard we examine their actions, as was stated; we look to the manifold deeds of kindness and mercy which they did, and their constant efforts to promote the welfare of those for whom they labored. So we must judge of God's goodness, by His works, by what He has done, and is doing, for the happiness and interest of His creatures. And the same works and arrangements which display His wisdom and knowledge, illustrate with equal point and fullness, His benevolence, His infinite, ever-active and everlasting Love.

The change of seasons, the regular return of day and night, the splendor of the starry heavens, the rain and sunshine, the fragrance of the flower, the concord of sweet sounds, the admirable and beneficent adaptation of the natural world to the wants of man; the multiplied fruits of the earth, the pleasures of sense, the divine powers of the intellect and the bliss of the affections, — all these help us to form an idea of the abounding goodness of God as our Creator, and to understand what it is, and how it acts.

And when we remember with what benevolence all nature is made tributary to our convenience and joy, with what tenderness God folds His protecting arm about us, bears with our weaknesses and follies, forgives our wrong and ingratitude, encourages our efforts for good and opens to us the path of peace, — when we consider all these merciful acts of His, these works of beneficence, we cannot fail to frame to our minds a distinct conception of patient and enduring Goodness, of omnipotent and unalterable Love. And there is little difficulty in putting our idea of this goodness of God into definite and manageable shape, and imparting to it a personal element. Experience of it daily greatly helps us in this respect, and the works of Divine Goodness, and participation in their benefits, conjointly work up the conception of it into an individual and active form.

Nor is there any reason why our conception of the personal relations which God sustains to man should be any more confused or

vague than that of the relation sustained by Howard to the hundreds who were blessed by his bountiful goodness, without ever having seen him. The reality of the bounty ; and the fact of the existence and relations of the Benefactor, are not affected by the fact that He is unseen, that His bounty comes indirectly, or through one channel rather than another.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. Quotations in the New Testament. By Crawford Howell Toy, Professor in Harvard University. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.50.

Even the Biblical student, we think, and certainly the ordinary reader, will be surprised on consulting this volume to find how often the Old Testament has been directly quoted and referred to by the writers of the New : and how largely Christian thought has been affected by its passage through Hebrew forms of speech. There are given here more than eight hundred passages from the Old Testament which are directly quoted by the New Testament writers, beside some two hundred more to which they refer. These Prof. Toy has classified under four heads, 1. Those which agree both with the Hebrew and the Septuagint ; 2. Those which agree with the Septuagint against the Hebrew ; 3. Those which agree with the Hebrew against the Septuagint ; 4. Those which agree with neither the Hebrew nor the Septuagint.

The author gives the original texts with English translations, and as exact an explanation as possible of the meaning, so that the precise thought of the Old Testament may be compared with the use made of it in the New, and the reader thus have all the material for drawing his own conclusions. A great part of the leading ideas of both Testaments comes under discussion, and the citations mark the transition from the old dispensation to the new. Nearly every book of the Jewish Scriptures is quoted, the exceptions being Obadiah, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther. There are allusions only to Ruth, Jonah, Judges, and two or three others. The Psalms and Isaiah are each cited about one hundred and fifty times. The Pauline Epistles make about one hundred and fifty citations, or, if we include Hebrews, over two hundred. Revelation, though making no formal quotations, either borrows phrases or metaphors, or puts its thought into Old Testament language, mostly from the prophets, in some two hundred and fifty or more instances.

Prof. Toy tells us that the quotations in the New Testament are never made from the Hebrew, but always from the Septuagint Greek, or the Aramaic version of the Old Testament. "The evangelists and apostles, writing in Greek for a Greek-speaking public accustomed to a Greek version, naturally cited the Scripture from this version. There are not many of the quotations in which the influence of the Septuagint is not evident." The Hebrew he regards as a dead language in the time of Christ, as not probably known to any of the New Testament writers except Paul, and his citations are almost uniformly from the Greek. "Where, then, freedom of quotation will not explain the New Testament deviations from the Septuagint, it is more natural to refer the citations, not to the Hebrew, but to the only other popular version of the

Old Testament in existence — the Aramaic." The statements regarding the Septuagint and the Aramaic versions given in the Introduction, are full of interest and instruction to the Bible reader and student, and help to picture to us the condition of things at that transition period of language and thought and literature.

"The New Testament furnishes abundant evidence of modification of the Old Testament texts by its writers, sometimes unintentional, as would be natural in quoting from memory; sometimes intentional, to bring out into prominence an idea supposed to be contained in the original, or to obtain a form adapted to the purposes of the discourse, — a freedom perfectly consistent with the desire and purpose to be faithful to the original." Evangelists and apostles regarded the Old Testament as authority, a divine revelation, a law of life to the Christian and Jew according to the spirit, if not according to the letter. Sometimes, when his argument required it, Paul spiritualized the text to an extent not always sustained by the letter. Many passages, too, are quoted by different writers in an accommodated sense, as *illustrations* of the events or doctrines in hand, rather than as *prophecies* spoken with express reference to these. The differences between the New Testament reading and the Hebrew on the one hand, and the Septuagint on the other, show great freedom in quotation, or marked changes in the translation from the original Hebrew into the popular tongue. The following, taken from the conclusion of his Preface, will discover the critical drift of Prof. Toy:

"No honest student of the Bible can object to a careful and honest sifting of its words, and no believer in God can fear that such a procedure will do harm. I ask from those to whom some of the views presented may seem strange, a careful examination of the grounds on which they are based. I believe that the ethical religious power of the Bible will be increased by perfectly free, fair-minded dealing, and by a precise knowledge of what it does and does not say. As its friends we ought not to wish anything else than that it should be judged strictly on its own merits; for to wish anything else is a confession of weakness. There is too much reason to suppose that the belief which is so prevalent in the mechanical infallibility of the Bible is seriously diminishing its legitimate influence over the minds and lives of men."

The *Introduction* is an admirable example of concise and critical statement; to be read with care, and not without some thoughtful questioning. The learning and exact scholarship of the work greatly honor American Biblical literature.

2. Darwinism, stated by Darwin himself. Selected and Arranged by Nathan Sheppard. D Appleton & Co.

Here are several hundreds of excerpts from the various works of Darwin, giving his opinions and beliefs on all the various questions which he has discussed with so much ability and learning. We have here not what this man or that man thinks Darwin believed and taught, but his own testimony in each case, given in his own words, without abridgment, note or comment from the compiler. Darwin has been charged with opinions he never entertained, and held responsible for absurdities advocated only by hot-headed admirers who hastened to out-run their master. And many persons have regarded him as an enemy of religion, and essentially atheistic. All such will now have an opportunity of knowing exactly what he has believed and taught regarding these matters. And no one need be ignorant of his religious views; no one need misunderstand his thought respecting the influence of his discoveries in natural science on religious faith and life.

It is impossible to read this book without seeing how reverent he was in spirit; how conscientious and persevering in his search for truth, as the one thing to be desired and sought after; how painstaking and laborious he was in all his observations and studies of natural phenomena, and the habits and peculiarities of animal life and development; and how cautiously he set down as theory only, or matters for study, what his eager disciples immediately seized upon and pronounced the established facts of science. In this respect his example might be followed with profit in all our schools of science now, and in all time to come. For such as do not possess the works of Darwin, and for those who count time as money, and all who sincerely desire to know what Darwinism really is, this book will prove a treasure.

8. *Biblical Hermeneutics. A Treatise on the Interpretation of the Old and New Testaments.* By Milton S. Terry, S.T.D. New York. Phillips & Hunt. 8vo. pp. 782. \$4.00.

This is the second volume of the Library of Biblical and Theological Literature, edited by George R. Crooks, D.D., and John F. Hurst, D.D. The design of the series is, as announced by the Editors and Publishers, "to furnish editors and laymen with a series of works which, in connection with the Commentaries now issuing, will make a compendious apparatus for study. While the theology of the volumes will be in harmony with the doctrinal standards of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the aim will be to make the entire Library acceptable to all evangelical Christians." Of the first volume, Dr. Harman on the "Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures," the *QUARTERLY* spoke in highest praise when the book was issued, a few years ago. The present volume merits as strong commendation. While there are some things in it from which we emphatically dissent, there are a great many more which we as heartily endorse; and not a few that we shall take another occasion to enlarge upon, as confirming the correctness of long-established Universalist Interpretation.

Dr. Terry writes in pure and vigorous English, in elegant and terse style, direct and free from ambiguity: and has accomplished one of the highest feats of scholarship, in producing an elaborate and exhaustive treatise on the Science and Art of Interpretation which, while embodying a vast compass of erudition and covering a great multitude of topics, is so distinct in its analysis and so free from mystification in presenting the various themes, that the average student will have no difficulty whatever in comprehending his meaning. The general divisions of the volume are three, in the first of which, "Introduction to Biblical Hermeneutics," several important matters are ably discussed, e.g., the character of other sacred books, the languages of the Bible, textual criticism, and inspiration. Many interesting facts and peculiarities in the structure and rhetoric of the Hebrew language are set forth; among them a most pleasing and instructive chapter on Hebrew poetry, which deserves special mention as illustrating the author's ability to compass in a few pages, the substance of what is contained in many volumes on this subject. The elegance and eloquence of the author's style are well displayed in his closing words on the Hebrew language:

"Its letters are a picture gallery; its words, roots, and grammatical forms are intimately blended with profoundest and divinest thoughts. It may well be called emphatically the *sacred tongue*. It appears in full development in its earliest written monuments, as if it had been crystallized into imperishable form by the marvel of the exodus and the fires of Sinai. The divine calling of Israel, and their national separateness

from all other peoples, served largely to preserve it from any considerable change. It retained every essential element of its structure until the canon of the Old Testament was complete, and then it ceased to be a living language. But, though dead it does not cease to speak. It seems rather to have arisen, and to flourish in another and immortal life. When it ceased to be a spoken language, behold, it was already petrified in records more enduring than the granite tables on which the ten commandments were written by the finger of God. . . . Like the Holy Land, in which this language lived more than a thousand years, it abounds in imagery that is apt to strike the imagination or affect the senses. It is in some respects a reflection of Canaan itself. It has a strength and permanency like the mountains about Jerusalem (Psalm cxxv. 2). It can whisper melodious tones for ode and psalm and elegy, soft and gentle as the voice of the turle-dove (Cant. ii. 12), or the gliding waters of Shiloh (Isa. viii. 6). It can excite emotions of terror like the rushing floods of the ancient Kishon, which swept whole armies away (Judges v. 21), or like the thunder and earthquake which opened the beds of the sea and revealed the foundations of the world (2 Sam. xxii. 16). It has landscape paintings as beautiful as the wild flower of Sharon (Cant. ii. 1); charming as the splendor and excellency of Carmel, and awe-inspiring as the glory of Lebanon (Isa. xxxv. 2). Through it all there breathes a spirit of holiness as impressive and solemn as if proceeding from the mysterious darkness in which Jehovah came down on Mount Sinai (Exod. xix. 18), or from the veiled Holy of Holies on the Mount Zion which he loved (Psalm lxxviii. 68). Surely this language was admirably adapted to enshrine the law and the testimony of God. It is like the wonderful bush which Moses saw at Horeb; behold! it burns continually, but is not consumed. And when the devout student comes within the spell of its spirit and power, he may hear the sound of a voice, exclaiming: "Pull off thy sandals from thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground" (Exod. iii. 5).

The second division, by far the largest and most important part of the book, is taken up with the consideration of "The Principles of Biblical Hermeneutics." Here Dr. Terry does not stop with a mere statement of the abstract rules of interpretation, but illustrates and applies them in the actual elucidation of many passages, giving to this portion of his book the characteristics of an admirable commentary. The history and principles of the allegorical, mystical, pietistic, accommodation, moral, naturalistic, mythical, rationalistic, apologetic and dogmatic methods of interpretation are given; and the true grammatico-historical method is ably pointed out. Following this are chapters on synonyms, scope and plan, figurative language, simile and metaphor, types, symbols, parables, allegories, and proverbs. With great candor the mistakes of the past in the interpretation of Matthew xxiv. and xxv., and kindred passages treating of the second coming and judgment of Christ, are acknowledged; and the application of these portions of the New Testament to the crisis which came upon the Jews in the lifetime of some whom Christ addressed, is made with great skill and fearlessness.

The concluding portion of the book, on the "History of Biblical Interpretation," is full of instruction, bringing to light many curious facts in regard to exegesis, and presenting in clear light the various theories of skepticism against which the Church has warred in various ages. The volume is well indexed, and contains a valuable Bibliography of about two hundred and fifty works on the general subject of Hermeneutics.

4. A Catholic Dictionary containing some account of the Doctrine, Discipline, Rites, Ceremonies, Councils, and Religious Orders of the Catholic Church. By William E. Addis, Secular Priest, sometime Fellow of the Royal University of Ireland; and Thomas Arnold, M.A., Fellow of the same University. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co. Royal 8vo. pp. vi. 897.

"The work here submitted to the public is intended," says its preface, "to meet a practical want which has long been felt among English-speaking Catholics — the want, namely, of a single trustworthy source

of information on points of Catholic doctrine, ritual and discipline." And the complaint is made and justly, no doubt, that with one marked exception, "all existing English works of a similar character, were compiled by Protestants, and it is scarcely possible to turn over ten pages in one of them without meeting with some more or less open attack upon Catholicism." Nearly all sects have had occasion to utter the same complaint concerning the treatment they have received at the hands of their opponents, and greatly as such narrowness is to be condemned, it often gives great weight to, as it creates the occasion for, the presentation of doctrines, opinions and practices, by those who profess and defend them. As a growth out of this felt necessity, the volume before us is interesting and instructive, and will be a help, not only to the members of the Roman Church, but also to all outsiders, in understanding the doctrines and claims of the Papacy. The subjects treated are, of course, numerous, covering the entire field indicated in the title-page, and of necessity many of the topics are briefly mentioned; but those of greatest consequence are sufficiently enlarged upon to convey an adequate idea of the manner in which they are held.

Of this latter class we have been greatly interested in reading the article on All Souls day, which we learn is not the day of prayer for all souls absolutely, but only for all souls in Purgatory; and as Purgatory is the place where only saints are temporarily placed, the prayers are after all not for the majority of the dead, but for a small minority. The article on Hell tells us that the Romanists believe that it is a place where human beings who die in enmity to God suffer eternal torments, and that it is certain that these they "suffer from material fire." "To those who ask how material fire can affect spirits no certain answer can be given. St. Thomas thinks that God gives to the fire as the instrument of His justice a preternatural power of constraining the spirit and impeding its action, so as to cause intense suffering." The Old Testament is not relied upon as teaching such a hell; but it is supposed, without a doubt, to be taught by our Saviour, in the New Testament, in what he declares concerning the punishments of Gehenna, literally a valley south of Jerusalem, polluted by Josias in consequence of the abominations practised there in the worship of Moloch. "Thus," the Dictionary says, "it became the image of and gave a name to the place of punishment for the wicked after death — a usage which is common to the Targums and to Rabbinical literature generally." Very likely, but what of the worth of all this as an indication of popular belief in Christ's day, if the Targums were not in existence then? Origen, it is conceded, taught that the fire of hell is not material, but figurative, and combatted the idea of the eternity of punishment. Contrary to recent Roman Catholic opinion, expressed by an eminent French writer, the Dictionary admits Origen's belief in universal salvation, and says: "It is doubtful whether or not his error was condemned at the Fifth General Council." To his abilities and influence the following tribute is paid:

"Origen's piety, genius, and learning, and his reputation as a commentator on the Bible, gained for him a wide and enduring influence in the Church, so that we cannot be surprised to find that other Fathers followed him in his hopes of a universal restoration. Petavius shows that St. Gregory Nyssen did so, that St. Gregory Nazianzen entertained the hope that the punishment of sinners in the next world would not last forever — a hope which St. Jerome limits to such sinners as had died in the Catholic faith. St. Ambrose, as quoted by Petavius, says that men may, though angels will not, be purified and restored, even after an adverse sentence has been passed upon them at the judgment. Carefully to be distinguished from this error is the opinion of Augustine and other Fathers, viz., that the sufferings of lost souls may be mitigated by the prayers and good works of the faithful. 'Concerning this amelioration of the condi-

tion of lost men at least,' so Petavius writes in words which Cardinal Newman has made familiar to all, 'the Church as yet has laid down nothing as certain; so that for this reason this opinion held by Fathers of high sanctity is not to be dismissed off-hand as absurd, though it differs from the common feeling of modern Catholics.'

The articles on the Church, Celibacy, Education, Indulgences, Inquisition, and the Sacraments, are interesting and instructive. The system of education allowed by the secular government in Ireland is thus described: "The National Board of Education—in the schools of which a combined literary instruction was to be given to children of all creeds during certain hours in the day, while separate religious teaching might be given to those whose parents desired it, before or after those hours, and also on one particular day of the week,—was organized through the exertions of Mr. Stanley, Chief Secretary for Ireland (afterwards Earl of Derby), in 1831. The bishops accepted this arrangement, not as the best, but as the best obtainable, measure; and under it, notwithstanding the difficulties caused by extreme poverty, elementary school training has penetrated into every corner of Ireland. An Act for the enforcement of general education, and authorizing the formation of School Boards, and the levying of rates in all places where voluntary effort should appear to be insufficient for the need, was brought in by Forster in 1870, and became law. Great efforts have been made by the Catholic body of England, and hitherto with a large measure of success, to provide schools under certificated teachers (and therefore qualified to participate in the educational grant) sufficient for the reception of all the Catholic children in the country. Whether these efforts will prevail, or the Board Schools, from which definite religious teaching is excluded, will more and more bring the elementary instruction of the people under their control, is a question still uncertain."

Private schools under the direction of Catholics have been established in Ireland about a hundred years. Five colleges in that country are now controlled by the Roman Church: and the boast is made that "these institutions, though without State aid or inspection, are already more flourishing than the Royal and Charter Schools—founded in bad times in order to preserve and extend Protestant ascendancy—could ever boast of being." Of the Roman Catholic schools in this country, the Dictionary says: "In most parts of the United States Catholics, though taxed for the support of the public schools—which formerly were distinctively Protestant in their teaching and now are fast becoming as distinctively Agnostic—have yet, by great self-denial, succeeded in establishing a system of parish-schools. But Catholics still have no technical schools, either of the primary or 'trade-school' class, or of the higher or polytechnic. Secondary education, however, is flourishing."

5. *ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.* Recently discovered and published by Philotheos Bryennios, Metropolitan of Nicomedia. Edited, with a Translation, Introduction, and Notes, by Roswell D. Hitchcock and Francis Brown, Professors in Union Theological Seminary, New York. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1884. 8vo. pp. vi., 37. Paper, 50 cts.; cloth, \$1.00.

It is safe to say that no publication issued for many years has been more generally welcomed by the Christian world than this. The Manuscript was discovered by Archbishop Bryennios, in the library of the Most Holy Sepulchre, in Fanar, of Constantinople, and was first made known to the public in an edition of the *Epistles of Clement*, published by Bryennios, at Constantinople, in 1875. He then announced that, in addition to the epistles of Clement, the manuscript contained the epis-

tles of Barnabas and Ignatius, and also the synopsis of John Chrysostom, and the teaching of the Twelve Apostles, and promised to publish these as soon as possible. The promise was redeemed in 1883, and the pamphlet before us is an early reprint of the foreign edition. The Archbishop has well employed his time during the past eight years, in tracing all the references to this long-lost writing in the earliest Christian documents; and has, by overwhelming evidence, established the antiquity and genuineness of the "Teaching."

There is no dispute that such a document once existed among the Churches, and that it has long been lost. Clement of Alexandria, about A.D. 194, cited it in the *Stromata*, i. 20, as possessing high authority; Eusebius, A.D. 325, spoke of it as known in his day; Athanasius, A.D. 375, catalogued it as among the *Apocrypha* of the New Testament, and elsewhere says that the Fathers commended it as useful to those studying the fundamentals of piety; Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, who died A.D. 828, gave a description of it, possibly having then in his convent library an original manuscript, from which, two centuries later this Bryennios parchment was copied by the "Scribe, Leon." Nicephorus says that the early MS. was two hundred lines in length. The one found in 1875, closely answering in all respects to what is known of the missing MS. has two hundred and three lines, and no reasonable doubt exists that it is the same. When, then, was it written? Clement's quotation from it necessarily carries it back to some date prior to the close of the second century. Its style, agreement in teaching with what was then known to exist, and its incidental reference to what was then, as established from other sources, known to be a rule of conduct, confirms this opinion. For example, it says, chapter viii., "Let not your fastings be appointed in common with the hypocrites; for they fast on the second day of the week and on the fifth; but do ye fast during the fourth and on the preparation day." Dr. Schaff's statement (*History* ii. 379) of what was true at the beginning of the second century is: "As the Pharisees were accustomed to fast twice in the week, on Monday and Thursday, the Christians appointed Wednesday and especially Fridays, as days of half-fasting, or abstinence from flesh." Bryennios fixes its date as between A.D. 120 and 160, and many critics are of the opinion that further examination is more likely to settle on an earlier than a later time. The Archbishop finds in the "Teaching" more or less distinct traces of thirty citations from the New Testament, viz., twenty from Matthew, six from Luke, and one each from Acts, Ephesians, 1 Thessalonians, 1 Peter, and possibly one from Titus. There are none from Mark and John. As it is now established by the best criticism that these gospels and epistles were written between A.D. 52 and A.D. 94, nothing stands in the way of the presumption that the date of the "Teaching" assigned by Bryennios is correct. Profs. Hitchcock and Brown accept this date, and Prof. E. C. Smyth, in an article accompanying a translation of the "Teaching" in the *Andover Review* for April, says: "We see no reason for questioning the date assigned by Bryennios. All the evidence, and it is not slight, points unmistakably to a time anterior to the outbreak of Montanism [say A.D. 150] and the appearance of the great leaders of Gnosticism [say A.D. 125]. The document belongs to the literature of the sub-apostolic Church, and may have been written in either of the first decades of the second century."

The contents of the "Teaching" are in sixteen brief sections. Six of them contain general instructions to believers, primarily to catechumens, young believers; a seventh relates to the ordinance of baptism;

the eighth treats of fasting and prayer ; the ninth and tenth give the manner of observing the Lord's Supper ; the next three instruct in regard to apostles, prophets and teachers, how to detect the false, and how to treat all ; the fourteenth has regard to the Lord's Day ; the fifteenth is on Church officers, discipline and mutual duties ; while the last is an earnest exhortation to the discharge of all Christian duty, and after the manner of Paul, in 1 Thessalonians, discourses on the second coming of Christ. The whole is characterized by great simplicity and liberality. Baptism may be in living, i.e., running water, or if this cannot be had, any other "water, cold or warm" may be used ; and "if thou hast neither, pour [or drip] water upon the head thrice." The frescoes of the Catacombs and the early mosaics representing baptism, show that this mode was not only allowed, but employed. Our Baptist brethren are quite shocked at the option given in this ordinance ; while a few Episcopalians are disposed to assail the genuineness of the document because it makes no distinction between bishops, presbyters and pastors ; and evangelicals, so-called, generally are disappointed that the book is so purely ethical, gives no countenance to the dogma of vicarious sacrifice, but instructs the young believer to offer his own sacrifices. Indeed, the absence of allusion to the Trinity, Imputed Righteousness and Imputed Sin, Total Depravity, Endless Punishment, and the whole dogmatic system of what vaunts itself as Orthodoxy, is wonderfully conspicuous and suggestive. Our people generally, and especially our preachers, should procure this work.

6. *The Outskirts of Physical Science. Essays, Philosophical and Religious*, by T. Nelson Dale, Author of "A Study of the Rhaetic Strata of the Val di Ledro in Southern Tyrol," "A Contribution to the Geology of Rhode Island," Corresponding Member of the Imperial Royal Geological Institution, Vienna. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1884. 12mo. pp. 187.

The contents of this volume are four essays, entitled : The Harmony between Christian Faith and Natural Science ; Scientific Studies, their Place and Use in Education ; On the Interpretation of the First Chapter of the Book of Genesis ; and The Vital Questions in the Conflict between Religious and Physical Science. The first three of these have been in print before, though limited in their circulation. The object had in view by the author is to present briefly the more important relation of the sciences of nature to faith, education, the Bible and religious science respectively. The first chapters of Genesis naturally receive considerable attention, and are treated by the author in a liberal and comprehensive spirit, being shown to be in harmony with what science has really established as true with reference to the order of creation. Hæckel is quoted as saying that "two great and important fundamental ideas of the natural development theory stand out with surprising clearness and simplicity in the creation hypothesis of Moses: the idea of *separation* or *differentiation*, and the idea of *progressive development* or *perfection*." Mr. Dale is a man of strong religious convictions, and with firm faith in revealed religion, connects enthusiasm in the study of natural science, feeling confident that as the fundamental and practical questions which underlie the discussion of science and religion are fully understood, a perfect harmony will be discovered in the works and the word of God. The conclusion to which his studies has led him is, "that physical science does afford some rational ground for a belief in the existence of God, and for a recognition of the actual and potential moral dignity and the immortality of man. Thus both Religious and Physical Science minister to the one Faith, and the Law of Nature but

re-echoes the 'Law of the Lord.'" We commend this work to those who would examine, in small compass, the present status of Biblical and scientific investigations at points where antagonisms are supposed by many to exist.

7. *Sermons to the Spiritual Man.* By William G. T. Shedd, D.D., Roosevelt Professor of Systematic Theology in Union Theological Seminary, New York. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1884. Crown 8vo. pp viii. 421. \$2.50.

The mechanical make-up of this book is excellent, as are all the publications of this house. The style of the contents, as an exhibition of homiletic art, is admirable; and in not a few instances the subject-matter is suggestive and valuable, but as a whole the interpretations of Scripture are of a school that is well-nigh obsolete, and the theology is revolting and abominable. The author confesses that he is well aware that his theology is "out of all keeping with some existing tendencies in the religious world;" but he is confident that "these tendencies are destined to disappear," and that this event is "as certain as that the Holy Spirit has not forsaken the world for which God incarnate died." The old theology, with all its systematic absurdity, and in all its outrageous forms of statement, has an unflinching advocate in Dr. Shedd, who, with the vehemence of Tertullian, and with hardly a disguise of his exultant spirit, discourses of the eternal doom and occupation of the damned, and proffers, as the only escape therefrom, faith in God's "blood of atonement," and the theory that "Christ has received the stroke of justice upon himself." Otherwise, the "spirit when it leaves the body will begin an everlasting wandering away from God."

The supreme deity of Christ is unambiguously taught, as in the sermon on "The Impression made by Christ's Holiness" where we are informed that Peter was certain that "God Almighty was standing beside him in the little fishing-boat—that Infinite Being who possesses a mysterious power over all the world of natural as well as spiritual life." God's Fatherhood, Dr. Shedd preaches to us, is dependent on ourselves! "Lay, then," he says, "this truth to heart: God cannot be a Father to any man who cannot from the fulness of his heart cry unto Him, 'My Father.'" "It is clear that God does not sustain the same relation in every respect to all mankind equally and alike. He is not the Father of Judas Iscariot and Nero, in the identical sense in which He is of the Apostle John and Archbishop Leighton. He is not the Father of an impenitent Messalina in the same way that He is of a broken-hearted Magdalene. For in the former case there is no affectionate filial feeling; and God, by His prophet Malachi, says to any and every man who would use the endearing term while at the same time he does not cherish the appropriate emotions: 'A son honoreth his father; if then I be a father, where is mine honor?' If the children of men, if any class of creatures, presume to denominate the Eternal One their Father, certainly they should evince their sincerity by the exercise of the corresponding sentiment." True, ingratitude in the children is base and inexcusable; but does that destroy the fact that they are children? If so, relationship is very easily unmade and destroyed: but the fact to which the child owes its very existence, it cannot destroy, and if not, how can its father destroy it? Such playing fast and loose with the eternal verities justly brings the theology of which it is a part into contempt.

8. *Brain Exhaustion, with some Preliminary Considerations on Cerebral Dynamics.* By J. Leonard Corning, M.D., formerly resident Assistant to the Hudson River Hospital for the Insane, etc., etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1884. 12mo. pp. 324.

This is a timely work, as the evil to which it refers seems to be on the increase, and comparatively few people read aright its symptoms or understand how it may be remedied. The author's experience with the insane and with those afflicted with nervous diseases, qualifies him to describe the causes, symptoms and cure of this terrible disease; and he has done his work in a scientific manner, yet intelligible to those who have no technical knowledge of physiology or of psychic influences. The concise style in which the book is written renders it impossible to give anything like a complete analysis of its contents in the limits to which we find ourself restricted in this notice; but we may venture to hint at some of the leading features of the work.

Of course, there is much concerning brain-action that is unknown, perhaps unknowable, in relation to which the psychologist has certain well based theories and many mere surmises; but several well-established physiological principles enable us to deal with a few indisputable facts, among which are these: that the "three factors of primary importance to brain-action are the condition of the nerve-cell, the condition of the cerebral blood-stream, and the physiological relationship of the first two." Every nerve-cell exhausts itself; gradually if there is little mental activity, rapidly if the mind puts severe strain upon it; but whatever the amount of activity, disintegration outstrips the resources of repair. These resources are, of necessity, in the blood, the amount of which, circulating in the brain, is increased during mental activity, but with the increase there is such rise of temperature over the cerebral hemispheres as indicates the fact that waste is rapidly taking place. The quiet which sleep affords is indispensably necessary to the supply of this waste, and no man is wise who attempts any substitute for repose. Dr. Corning well exposes the folly of seeking relief from brain exhaustion by attempting muscular development.

"When interrogated, such individuals usually state that their principal occupation has been one demanding an amount of mental labor nothing short of excessive, and that, in order to counteract the ill effects of over mental work, they have had recourse to violent muscular exercise. Instead, however, of obtaining relief, the stomach, as well as the brain, at last gives way, and the subject is reduced to a deplorable state of incapacity. We have here presented to us the picture of an already overtaxed brain, exposed to additional impoverishment by reason of the demands of an abnormally developed muscular system upon an already insufficient blood supply. In an effort to supply both the nutritive demands of the overworked brain and the abnormally developed muscles, the digestive powers are overtaxed, and the miserable picture is complete." . . . It "means usually both physical and mental bankruptcy — ~~the~~ simply burning the candle at both ends."

Still more suicidal is the resort to narcotics usually called stimulants, as tobacco and alcohol. The author's zealous advocacy of what he terms a "moderate" use of tobacco, seems — we cannot resist the impression — more like the half apology of one who is addicted to its use than a full and fair presentation of the evil and only evil effect of narcotism; but he in great fairness adduces the testimony "of a host of literary and scientific gentlemen respecting their individual experience with tobacco and alcohol," as furnished to Mr. A. Arthur Reade, and published in his work on "Study and Stimulants." Of this Dr. Corning says:

"This information was communicated to Mr. Reade by letter, and from the evidence thus obtained, he feels justified in drawing the following conclusions, which I insert,

regardless as to whether they coincide with my own opinions or not: 1 'Alcohol and tobacco are of no value to a healthy student;' 2 'That the most vigorous thinkers and hardest workers abstain from both stimulants;' 3 'That those who have tried both moderation and total abstinence, find the latter the more healthful practice;' 4 'That almost every brain-worker would be the better for abstinence;' 5 'That the most abstruse calculations may be made, and the most laborious work performed, without artificial stimulants;' 6 'That all work done under the influence of alcohol is unhealthy work;' 7 'That the only pure brain stimulants are external ones — fresh air, cold water, walking, riding, and other outdoor exercises.'

The causes of brain-exhaustion may be divided, says Dr. Corning, into two groups, — "those arising out of the peculiar relations of the individual to the material exigencies of life and to society, and those arising from sources inherent in the individual himself. Under the former head are included the indirect sources of brain exhaustion, while the second group comprises more particularly the exciting causes of the disorder." The present and rapidly increasing subdivision of labor fosters, both in manual work and mental activity, a "condition of prolonged concentration of isolated faculties of the mind: " our political system, putting so many on the stretch and worry for position; the demands and exactions of our social life; and the climatic conditions of our country, especially in the territorial districts and the States of the Northwest, induce a great prevalence of functional nervous diseases, which in nine cases out of ten "assume the form of an impairment of brain energy, with or without hypochondriacal accompaniments." Our false educational conceptions and methods seem to be framed and applied with little reference to the ultimate demands of society upon the individual, and take but slight account of the physiological exigencies of the individual living being as such. That the system is one of the most "prolific predisposing causes of brain exhaustion, is shown by the fact that many children, who in early years have been frequently obliged to discontinue school on account of morbid brain fatigue caused by overwork, have, later on in life, become the victims of more or less chronic cerebral exhaustion." The exciting causes are all those which result in the production of worry: excesses in living, the habit of turning night into day, and, as has been noted above, narcotism, falsely called stimulation.

What are the symptoms which warn one that the brain is becoming exhausted? Among the earliest and most certain are derangements of the faculty of recollection, the memory of dates, places, names, slipping away from us. Then come morbid emotions, sleeplessness or disordered sleep, lack of mental concentration, local pains in the head, morbid fears, and a general inability to command the will. The essentials of a system of treatment to effect a complete cure, are "Increased sleep, increased nutrition, cessation of mental work, and time." "Could we be but sure of enjoying ten hours of perfect physiological sleep every twenty-four hours, there would be indeed few intellectual storms of sufficient potency to cause shipwreck of the mind. But just here lies the difficulty; it is impossible to impose burdens upon the intellectual and mental faculties beyond a certain point without seriously interfering with that rhythmical unconsciousness which is the indispensable requisite to the proper repair of those higher centres concerned in the processes of intellection." Of the first importance, therefore, to men of intellectual habits, is an abundance of refreshing sleep. We heartily commend Dr. Corning's book to all who follow intellectual pursuits, assuring them that his theories, illustrations and advice cannot fail to be of value to them.

9. *The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice, Chiefly told in his own Letters.* Edited by his son, Frederick Maurice. With Portraits. In two volumes. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1884. 8vo. pp. xiv., 552; xv., 712. \$5.00.

Thirty years ago the name of Rev. Frederick D. Maurice came prominently before the American public, by the publication of his "Theological Essays," and his "Letter to Rev. Dr. Jelf, Canon of Christ's Church, and Principal of King's College, on the word 'Eternal,' and the Punishment of the Wicked." The Essays were claimed by their author to be a serious and affectionate talk with the English Unitarians, in the hope of convincing them that they had not done justice to the under current of spiritual truth in the Trinitarian theology of the Church of England, but had been expending their hostility on barbarous perversions of its dogmas. But rejecting, as Mr. Maurice boldly did, and with a hearty indignation, the Calvinistic notions of the Atonement, Justification, and Regeneration, and holding that love being the ground of all God's action, no sacrifice was needed to appease the divine law or divert God's justice, and careful to avoid any arithmetical statement or scholastic definition of the Trinity, he attracted the sympathetic attention of the Unitarians, and roused the most determined opposition from his brethren in the Church, who accused him of perverting the standards, tampering with the doctrines, and relaxing the terrors of Episcopal orthodoxy. Especially did he rouse their indignation by his earnest objections to the common notion of everlasting or endless punishment, and by contending that the word rendered "Everlasting" and "Eternal" in the Bible, was not expressive of any idea of duration, but wholly of quality.

At this time Mr. Maurice was Professor of Theology in King's College, and Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn; and he was at once remonstrated with by the Principal of the College, Rev. Dr. Jelf. A controversy immediately ensued, and Prof. Maurice was expelled from his professorship. We look in vain for any indications of a change of views from that time on. He was an Agnostic on the subject of the duration of future punishment, denying that he believed that it was necessarily endless, and equally denying that he believed that it would cease. In a letter to a friend he says:

"I cannot speak of God punishing for a number of years and then ceasing to punish, or of the wicked expiating their crimes by a certain amount of penalties. The idea of a rebel will is, to those who know in themselves what it is, far too awful for such arrangements as these. A man who feels what sin means, who feels it as the contradiction to God's nature, the perfectly holy, and blessed, and loving nature, cannot find any comfort in the thought of God leaving men alone, or hold out such a prospect as a comfort to his fellows. He feels that God is altogether Love, Light with no darkness at all. But then that which is without God, that which loves darkness, that which resists Love, must not it be miserable? and can it not fix itself in misery? Has it not a power of defying that which seeks to subdue it? I know in myself that it has. I know that we may struggle with the Light, that we may choose death. But I know also that Love does overcome this rebellion. I know that I am bound to believe that its power is greater than any other. I am sure that Christ's death proves that death, hell, hatred, are not so strong as their opposites. How can I reconcile these contradictory discoveries? I cannot reconcile them. I know no theory which can. But I can trust in Him who has reconciled the world to Himself. I can leave all in His hands. I dare not fix any limits to the power of His love. I cannot tell what are the limits to the power of a rebel will. I know that no man can be blessed except his will is in accordance with God's will. I know that it must be by an action on the will that love triumphs. Though I have no faith in man's theory of Universal Restitution, I am taught to expect 'a restitution of all things which God who cannot lie has promised since the world began.' I am obliged to believe that we are living in a restored order; I am sure that restored order will be carried out by the full triumph of God's loving will. How that should take place while any rebellious will remains in His universe I cannot tell, though it is not for me to say that it is impossible; I do not want to say it, I wish to trust God absolutely, and not to trust in any conclusion of my own understanding at all.

"My duty, then I feel, is this: 1. To assert that which I know, that which God has

revealed, His absolute universal love, in all possible ways, and without any limitation. 2. To tell myself and all men that to know this love and to be moulded by it, is the blessing we are to seek. 3. To say that this is eternal life. 4. To say that the want of it is death. 5. To say that if they believe in the Son of God they have eternal life. 6. To say that if they have not the Son of God they have not life. 7. *Not* to say who has the Son of God, because I do not know. 8. *Not* to say how long any one may remain in eternal death, because I do not know. 9. *Not* to say that all will necessarily be raised out of eternal death, because I do not know. 10. *Not* to judge any one before the time, or to judge other men at all, because Christ has said, 'Judge not that ye be not judged.' 11. *Not* to play with Scripture by quoting passages which have not the slightest connection with the subject, such as 'Where the tree falleth it shall lie.' 12. *Not* to invent a scheme of purgatory and so take upon myself the office of the Divine Judge. 13. *Not* to deny God a right of using punishment at any time or anywhere for the reformation of His creatures. 14. *Not* to contradict Christ's words, 'These shall be beaten with few, these with many stripes,' for the sake of maintaining a theory of the equality of sins. 15. *Not* to think that any punishment of God's so great as His saying, 'Let them alone.'"

The volumes before us are largely autobiographical, being for the most part made up of letters written by Prof. Maurice, which are arranged with such fidelity by his son as to leave but little for their collector to do, aside from giving them chronological and subject arrangement. With the exception of a few family traditions, our knowledge of the early life of the subject of the Memoir, is derived from his own memoranda and letters. His father was a Unitarian clergyman, but failed to hold his family in that communion, for first his older daughters, and then their mother, drifted into Calvinism. Before this change of views came to the mother, she writes to her husband who was sorely cast down by the decision to which his daughters had come — that they could no longer listen to their father's preaching; and in her effort to comfort and help him in his disappointment, gives in her surmise as to the cause of their change of sentiments, a reason which has not even at the present day lost its force — the absence of an adequate literature of their own faith, and the readiness with which they obtained access to books for spiritual help, which also contained and imparted the effective poison of error. She says:

"I can think of only one cause by which we can in any way have been led to the present circumstances — a desire that our children should be serious. This has been the cause that books were put into their hands that in the most pleasing and amiable form, have introduced doctrines which are usually represented to young persons of our opinions as being substituted for exertion and holiness. It can be no shame to us that we were obliged to resort to authors of different opinions from ourselves, to give our children serious impressions, to teach them the end for which existence was bestowed upon them. It is, however, a shame to Unitarians in general that we have so few books of this kind. From my own experience, I can say that I am driven to read books which continually introduce doctrines that I cannot discover in the Scriptures, because I find so few Unitarian publications that make an impression on the heart, influencing it by forcible motives to right conduct."

Baptized by his father in infancy or childhood, Frederick D. Maurice became a Churchman at twenty-six years of age, and after much hesitation, knowing how painful it must be to his father, was re-baptized into the Church of England, and soon after took orders and a curacy. What is known as the Oxford movement was rapidly developing strength when he became active in the church. That movement sought to do away with the formalism of the established church, and to put new life into it by going back and taking the Church back to the abandoned dogmas and ceremonials of the Middle Ages. Maurice confessed his sympathy with those who mourned over the spiritual deadness of the Church, and so incurred the dislike of the so-called Evangelicals; but as earnestly repudiating the attempts to escape from this by fleeing to the dogmas and authority of Rome, he fell from favor with the Tractarians.

Sympathizing also with the Chartists in demanding reforms in the interest of the working classes, he was branded a heretic and infidel, and assailed as an atheist by the respectable conservatives; and on the other hand, insisting that Christianity is the only true socialism, and the Church the only safe Commune, he was distrusted by the Chartists as only a partial convert. Wholly in accord with no one, either in religion, philanthropy, or politics, yet in an eminently Christian spirit seeking to do good to all, his mission seems to be best defined in his own statement, "My vocation is with the discontented, wearied, hopeless, with all that are in debt and disgrace, with outcasts and ragmuffins in the different bodies." Yet while seemingly broad in his sympathies, and sincere in his efforts to convince men that the world's great need was union with God through Christ, he was not free from narrowness and at times intolerant bigotry. The Church of England was to him the only visible and divinely organized Church. His refusal to meet Quakers, Baptists and Independents on a common platform was because, as he stated it, "You fraternize on some other ground than that of our union in Christ and then you ask me to fraternize with you on that ground." "The Prayer Book," he said, "preaches a gospel to mankind which no dissenters and no infidels preach."

He was a man of great industry, and wonderful diversity of genius; and like many other men of warm feeling, versatility, and constant mental effort, was vague in many of his expressions, more nice than exact in statement, his exuberant rhetoric often concealing instead of announcing his thought. He wrote wholly by dictation, his wife being his amanuensis. His habit in this was on the border of the ludicrous. It is thus described:

"His usual manner of dictation was to sit with a pillow on his knees hugged tightly in his arms, or to walk up and down the room still clutching the pillow, or, suddenly sitting down or standing before the fire with the pillow still on his knees or under his left arm, to seize a poker and violently attack the fire, then to walk away from it to the furthest end of the room, return, and poke violently at the fire, not unfrequently in complete unconsciousness of what he was doing, poking the whole of the contents of the fireplace through the bars into the fender. The habit of holding the pillow whenever he was engaged in excited talk dated from such early days that one of his undergraduate Cambridge friends used to say that a black horse-hair pillow which he then had always followed him about of itself. My mother in the Guy's days used to call such a one his 'black wife.' All the while he poured forth a continuous stream of words. When, however, he took into his own hands, for looking over and correction, a passage which he had either written or dictated, the chances were very strong that half at least of it would be torn out, or erased and rewritten. All his manuscript is full of verbal corrections, erasures and re-writings on each separate page, and whole sections of each of the MS. books are torn completely out. He never could be satisfied with the expression he had given to the thoughts he wished his words to convey."

Strong in his devotional feelings, he was a man of almost constant prayer: often, says his sister, spending the whole night in communion with God, and never, his wife testifies, beginning any work without seeking preparation in prayer. Often, too, pausing in his work to implore divine guidance, he seemed to live in the very atmosphere of heaven. And so, too, he died, his last act and words being the imparting of a benediction: "Suddenly he seemed to make a great effort to gather himself up, and after a pause he said slowly and distinctly, 'The knowledge of the love of God, the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you — amongst us — and remain with us forever.' He never spoke again. In one instant all consciousness was gone, and when I looked up and called him he did not know me. Then, as the breathing became more and more labored, and at last ceased, there gradually settled down upon the face a look of calmness, beauty, triumph, which remained on it for many hours."

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THOMAS B. THAYER, D.D., EDITOR.



TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ART. XXVI.	THE JEW — FROM THE MACCABEES TO CHRIST. Part III,	389
	Rev. A. G. Laurie.	
ART. XXVII.	RALPH WALDO EMERSON AND HOSEA BALLOU, Rev. O. F. Safford.	405
ART. XXVIII.	RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO NORTH AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,	416
	Rev. J. P. McLean.	
ART. XXIX.	DOES CIVILIZATION CIVILIZE?	429
	David N. Johnson.	
ART. XXX.	THE NAME OF GOD REVEALED TO MOSES,	445
	O. D. Miller, D.D.	
ART. XXXI.	"THE NEW COVENANT" AND ITS CRITICS,	458
	J. W. Hanson, D.D.	
GENERAL REVIEW.		483
	Are We Outgrowing Religion?—Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead.	
CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.		500
	The Proofs of Christ's Resurrection, from a Lawyer's Standpoint—History of the Town of Shirley—Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis—Thoughts on Holiness—Caedmon's Exodus and Daniel—The Mystery of Creation and Man—Margaret Fuller Ossoli—The Liquor Problem in All Ages—Natural Law in the Spiritual World—The Ideas of the Apostle Paul—Due West—Brahmoism—The Giant's Robe—Stories of the Old World—Cicero De Senectute—Sermons by Dr Walker—The Temptation of Christ—Bain's Practical Essays—Mothers in Council. Book Notes.	



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ARTICLE XXVI.

The Jew—From the Maccabees to Christ.

PART III.

SIXTY years after its overthrow by Titus, in A. D. 132, above the ashes of Jerusalem, to the amazement of the wrathful Roman who had deemed him quashed forever, under lead of Bar-co-chab, Son of a Star, most dazzling of his many later Messiahs, for independence and nationality once more fiercely struck, and finally fell, the Jew. Himself overwhelmed, and the site of his City passed under the plough,¹ never since, for Judea, has he raised hand of war again. And ninety years after that catastrophe, rid for a while of his dream of Messianic sovereignty, broken and weary, under patronage of Alexander Severus he was glad to subside into a peaceful, practical, and industrious citizen of the world.

But, the while, away from Rome, away from Jerusalem, and before its siege by Titus, the individual Jew, keeping close in thought and heart, always, his country and religion, was biasing towards both, the destinies of Princes.

Beyond Euphrates, a district of Old Persia, was Adiabéné. Its religion, likely, was that of Zoroaster. But, converts of a Jew, Ananias, its Queen, Helena, and her son, Izates, went over to Judaism (A.D. 44-46). She made pilgrimage to Jerusalem. And, against the prudence of even Ananias, Izates clamored for circumcision, and secured it.

Judea was faint with famine. Quick to her need came corn from Alexandria, from Cyprus, fruits, and gold from Adiabéné. For, in the zeal of their new faith, Queen and Prince had hurried abundance to the destitution of Judea.

In death, as in life, to round the Judaism of mother and son, one thing more was needed, was claimed, was accorded. And the bodies of both obtained burial in the sacred dust of

¹ Milman's History of the Jews, ii. 440, Note 4.

Jerusalem.² Dramatic throughout, at its close the episode gathers itself up into a final scene before the curtain falls.

After a reign of four-and-twenty years, Izates dies. In besieged Jerusalem (A.D. 70), for their adopted faith his "sons and brothers" struggle against Rome to the last. At the downfall, spared with grudge by Titus, they were "bound and conducted to" the Capital,³ there doubtless, in the long line of the vanquished, to pace in the pageant of the conqueror. Ends thus in defeat and dolor at Rome, the stir of the conversion of Queen Helena and King Izates, at first promising so cheerily for the spread of Judaism in Asia.

Before the Roman conquest of Judea, as in Adiabéné, so everywhere, nor anywhere more responsively than at Rome, on the springs of public movement was felt the touch of the Jew. Two Jewish traders convert Helena and Izates to Judaism, save Judea from famine, and involve the royal house of Adiabéné in the doom of Jerusalem. And about the time when, on their small scale, in fervor for their faith, these traders were slanting towards it and its fortunes the politics of the East, another sort of Jew, loyal to the outwards, but caring not a doit for the spiritualities of his religion, was bustling, and to purpose, round the centre of human affairs upon the metropolitan theatre of the world.

Vassal of Rome, and King of Judea, was Agrippa the 1st. To this grandson of Herod the Great, from boyhood to death, with pathetic affection clung Rome's demented Emperor, Caius Caligula (A.D. 37-41). Under Tiberius (A.D. 14-37) the boys were brought up together. And, 'mid his maddest crazes, never faltered the affection of Caligula for Agrippa. Devotedly was it returned by the Jew. Under the suspicious and sleepless eye of Tiberius, both lads afret, once said Agrippa to his young patron, "Oh, that this old fellow would die, and name thee governor of the habitable earth." Tattled to Tiberius, the "constructive treason" shut dungeon doors on Agrippa, and for a perilous six months laid him in irons,⁴ death daily shaking finger at him.

² Josephus' Antiquities, XX. ii. 8, 5; iv. 8.

³ Josephus' War, B vi., C vi. 4.

⁴ Josephus' Antiquities, XVIII. vi. 6, 7, 10.

Become Emperor, Caligula ordered his statue to be set up in the Holy of Holies in the Jewish Temple, and the Temple to be dedicated to himself as Jupiter the Younger.⁵ The edict was peremptory. Petronius, prefect of Syria, was to enforce it if necessary by arms. Besides auxiliaries, two legions were appointed him for the purpose. So enforced, Petronius recognized the command of Caligula as a slogan of massacre for all Judæa. He paused. He shrank from the extermination of a whole people. Aghast at the impending profanation, prone on earth before him crowds of thousands bared their throats, and bade all his swords come on. Nowhere whisper of rebellion; everywhere, for forty days, despair. No war against the Emperor, no war, was the cry, but rather than his statue have place where dares not one rise even to Jehovah, for ourselves, death. Till came answer to his deprecations to Rome, his life and theirs dangling on the caprice of an omnipotent madman, terrible the suspense of Petronius, and, at the probable compulsion of the sacrilege, terrible the agony of the Jews. Caligula heeded the cautions of Petronius! From the pale face of Jerusalem fixed on his, Caligula recoil! Rather than word of his go void, perish Jerusalem, perish the universe. To withstand the fiat of "Jupiter the Younger," who were these Jews? Contemptibles, unable to perceive him a god. And Petronius, their advocate, sycophant, hireling, corrupted by their bribes, was bidden kill himself.⁶

In honor of Caligula, Agrippa gave a banquet, a banquet so gorgeous as to transcend the exacting fancy of even Caligula. Exhilarated by its splendors, all in grace to him, as Agrippa drank to him, Caligula recalled the six months' dungeon with its daily terrors, and the iron chain that Agrippa had brooked for love of him,⁷ and the tiger in him grew ten-

⁵ Milman's History of the Jews, ii. 151.

⁶ Command customary with the bad Emperors, and always obeyed. "Hardly in one instance did the fallen attempt to fly." De Quincey's *Cæsars*, 21. Petronius escaped, for before the sentence notice reached him of the death of Caligula.

⁷ Instead, Caligula gave him one of equal weight in gold, afterwards dedicated by Agrippa in the Temple.

der and purred, O Agrippa, ask some boon of me, and be it a large one; I would show gratitude for what thou hast done, and what, endured, for me; ask whatever thou wilt, and already thou hast it. Then outspoke, nor unworthily, the semi son of the Maccabees. Nothing for myself, "oh my lord," crowned as already am I with thy favors; nothing for myself; but "my petition is this, that thou wilt no longer think of the dedication of that statue which thou hast ordered to be set up in the Temple by Petronius."

To thrust that statue into the Holy of Holies, so to defy its invisible Jehovah, was, just then, the pet craze dancing in the whirling brain of Caligula. Despite earth and heaven, up in that sanctuary that image of himself should go. So round the Roman world had rung the word of Cæsar. And what, who, should balk it? Himself, in affection for Agrippa. And prompt to pledge of cup and word, in homage to his friend, down, perhaps through struggle, but down, went the rage, and the purpose, of Caligula. "As a favor to Agrippa," said he, Agrippa, whom he honored so highly that he could deny him nothing. he revoked his edict, and wrote Petronius that he had "now no occasion for the erection of that statue," bidding him let things bide as they were.⁸

Tyrant, homicide, murderer, poisoner was Caligula, burdened rightly, perhaps, with the odium of all the atrocities the maledictions of history have heaped on him. Yet at first, was he the "chick," "star," "darling," "bantling," of the populace of Rome. "By his elevation he fulfilled the wish of the Roman people; I may venture to say, of all mankind."⁹ But in mind and body throughout was he unsound. As boy, he had fits of the falling sickness. And as man, in a love philtre unintentionally poisoned by his wife, he shot into chronic madness. At times, with a delirious consciousness of his disorder, he would fain have retired from Empire to repose. In the day time he had private conferences with Jupiter. At night, he was tormented with sleeplessness, sign signal of his malady. After restless slum-

⁸ Josephus' Antiquities, XXIII. viii.

⁹ Suetonius' Caligula, XIII.

bers of three or four hours, through the others he sat up in bed, or, craving the dawn, paced the long corridors of his palace, clouds of ghosts around him, and, gathering itself into shape among them, "a form representing the ocean spoke to him." For sight and sound of that goblin who would not court a nightwatch with Caligula! But through all his distractions of mind and body and their issues, his insatiable passions of lust and blood, fast clung he to Agrippa. Under his profusion of wickedness, some charm of mind or heart, perceptible perhaps to the sensitiveness of friendship only, must have lurked about the monster so to take, and hold Agrippa, as events proved, no parasite, but leal to the last and beyond it. For when, in fate's desert, murder in turn smote murder, and the round world clapped hands over the daggered Caligula, faithful to him, dead and deserted, as he had been to him living and omnipotent, above his corpse, sole mourner, hung Agrippa. The clay stirred, or he thought it did, and cried, "Physicians!" Pulse still, and resuscitation hopeless, he lifted the thing to bed, threw over it a mantle, and followed it to funeral. Then hastening from "the half burned bones," of Caligula, through tumults of soldiery crowding Claudius to the purple pressed he to the side of that laggard, and hustled him into Empire.¹⁰ Sent for, for counsel by the Senate, when he entered, they were gabbling about a restoration of the Republic. "Dead and damned, that," thought Agrippa. And when, fumbling after their former dignity, they would have no Emperor, no Claudius, "doctrinaires," thought Agrippa; and thought truly. For populace and prætorians were clamoring for Claudius. And Agrippa was practical. With word and gesture to and fro among the factions went he, now with the army, now with the Senate, laid the scour, choked revolution, and slid a Master on the world. Order re-established in the Capital, with the whole territory lately ruled by Herod the Great secured to him,¹¹ with edicts in hand of "rights and privileges" to his people throughout

¹⁰ Josephus' *Antiquities*, XIX. iv. 1, 2; Merivale's *Rome*, v. 367. 368.

¹¹ *Ibid.* v. 380.

the Empire, with his self-love complacent that it was he who had won the boon for them,¹² and his feudal patriotism pleased that they had deserved it,¹³ back fared Agrippa to his people and Judea.

Strict to his law was Agrippa, the Jew. He offered sacrifice every day. In person and conduct he was rigorous of legal purity. Half Idumean, by descent, once, when was read in his hearing in the Synagogue (Deut. xvii. 15), "Thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother," he wept. But so had he won on ¹⁴ his subjects, that, "weep not, King Agrippa," cried the worshippers, "for thou art our brother. He it was who "killed James the brother of John with the sword," and put Peter in prison, "because he saw it pleased the Jews." (Acts xii. 2, 3.)

But in their estimate of him, nor Tiberius, nor Caligula, nor Claudius, nor the Roman Senate, made count of his religion. So active in Roman affairs, and so influential, that he should stick to such a religion, allowed though it were by the laws of the Empire, was queer. But, by country he was a Jew. And, said the Romans, it is incumbent on every one to persevere in the religion of his ancestors. So would they reconcile the statesmanship, with the Judaism of Agrippa. Besides, at Rome, as yet, whether as stamp of country or of creed, Judaism was matter neither of praise nor blame. The time when it began to be the curse and consolation, the stigma, and the standard of the Jew, though near, had not yet fully come. Twenty-five years after Agrippa, in mid reign of his son and successor, with the downfall of Jerusalem, come with a vengeance, that time did. And thenceforward, over the Roman world, abhorrence and degradation were the heritage of the Jews.¹⁵ It had not been so aforetime.

Only after tough battle against a faction of them, had

¹² "Upon petition of King Agrippa . very dear to me," says Claudius. *Antiquité* v. 8.

¹³ "Worthy such favor (are the Jews) from fidelity and friendship to the Romans." *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Milman's *Jews*, ii. 166.

¹⁵ "The change, very marked." Milman's *Hist. of the Jews*, ii. 461.

Pompey beaten them, and spared the treasury of the Temple "in a manner worthy of his virtue."¹⁶

Special favorites were they of Julius Cæsar.¹⁷ At Rome, under Augustus their poor had fair share of the monthly corn dole. When the alms-day fell on their Sabbath, he ordered their lot aside till Sunday.¹⁸

Until legalized by Constantine, the Christian, was an illicit religion, outside the Ægis of the State. But from before Julius Cæsar till its proscription by Hadrian (A. D. 117), that of the Jews was a licensed, protected, and established religion of the Empire. Augustus had had votive sacrifice offered for himself in the Temple of Jerusalem.¹⁹

Yet till long after his time, down to that of Honorius (A.D. 390-420), there is confusion in the Roman mind between Jews and Christians. In the time of Nero (A. D. 54-68), except by experts, discrimination between them must have been difficult. But in the Court of Nero experts were at hand.

In the first misnamed persecution of the Christian Church (A.D. 64), but really of the Christians in Rome maligned as the incendiaries of the Great Fire, kindled, doubtless by emissaries of Nero,²⁰ perished, says Tacitus, "a vast multitude," under every conceivable contrivance of cruelty. In skins of wild beasts they were torn by dogs, were mounted and mangled on crosses, and night by night, in jackets of pitch blazed they as lamps in the gardens, and for the sport of Nero.²¹ The Christian Church of the time in the City must have been largely Jewish; Jewish by birth, though by baptism, Christian. And in that welter of agony every Jew writhing in it was a Christian, not one a Mosaic, Jew: not one who had not "named the name of Christ." Whence this separation of sheep and goats? Why, shielding one sort of Jews, raged Nero against another sort? He rioted in cruelty. He bathed in blood. But, by preference in that of the Senate whom he

¹⁶ Antiquities, XIV. iv. 4.

¹⁷ "If you have any decree against (the Jews) our friends and confederates," says Cæsar, "it does not please me; abrogate the same!" Antiquities XIV. x. 8.

¹⁸ Millman's Jews, ii. 128 Note 1.

¹⁹ Gibbon (Bohn) ii. 5.

²⁰ Suetonius (Bohn) Nero XXXVIII.

²¹ Tacitus, Annals (Bohn) 423.

hated, of the wealthy whom he plundered, of the illustrious in any way whose virtues abashed or galled him. Something glittering to fix his gaze, to stir his envy or his fear, then grew Nero deadly. But, terror of the Senate, scourge of the aristocracy, he was the idol of the plebs. Hail-fellow among them, at the theatre when brawls broke to blows, who cracked skulls like Nero? ²² "Acceptable to the people," says Tacitus, was Nero; nor from it had he aught to fear; least of all from its nethermost strata imbedding the Christians. To Gentile view, and had he been let be, to his own, they could but have seemed a sort of the Jews. And, by protection of Poppea, first his mistress, next his wife and a Jewish proselyte, the Jews were warm at court. Between them and their sectaries, the Christians, who sharpened the discrimination of Nero? What partizan of the orthodox side whetted for him the edge of separation between Mosaic and Christian Jew? Poppea. Twice before had she coaxed him into concessions to her faction of the Jews. ²³ Their lowest, their exorcists and astrologers were her intimates. They swarmed to her. "With this vile crowd of fortune-tellers held Poppea secret consultation." ²⁴ Hate of the Christian, fever chronic, in blood of kindest Jew, was rabies in his rabble. And, Poppea bitten, why not her white teeth, sweet wanton, dent the cheek of her lover? And why seek we farther for his outbreak, otherwise inexplicable, not on the Christians, but on the Christian Jews? Under sham of cursing those who had set fire to the city, "steadily the people cursed Nero." ²⁵ His guilt heard and understood the menace, and his terror screamed for a substitute. Lisped Poppea, "the Christians!" Swift to hint he flung them to the rabble. Who, these Christians, at the moment, what recked he? Sops to the mob in lieu of Nero. That was all their massacre meant to him. And when, long brutalized by the barbarisms of its theatre, from the burning

²² Suetonius (Bohn) Nero, XXVI.

²³ Josephus' Antiq. XXVII. 11; Life, iii. 2.

²⁴ Tacitus, History, i. 22.

²⁵ Dio Cassius, cited in Huldekoper's "Judaism at Rome." 247, Note 191.

Christians in his gardens, even that mob dropped chin on chest and turned in pity and disgust away,²⁶ give the palm to Poppea. She had won it. She had hoaxed Rome, mauled the heretics of her pets, and rescued Nero. Chuckled the Jews, slunk to covert the Christians, Poppea smiled, and Nero breathed again. For its immediate ends the trick was as clever as it was atrocious. These it secured; beyond these nothing. It had no historic consequence. In the life of Rome, of the Synagogue, of the Church, it was an incident unpregnant of anything. It was not, as say the Martyrologies, the first of the "Persecutions Ten of the Christian Church."²⁷ As a murder wholesale of their brethren at Rome, doubtless, the Christians of the provinces shuddered at its telling.²⁸ But outside the city no Christian was scathed by it. Nor made it even feint of threat at Christianity as a religion. Its victims were indicted not as Christians but incendiaries of the city. And the charge failing, from a multitude mad with terror, out against these left hand Jews shrieked the usual yell against the Jews themselves, "haters of the human race," meet these for every variety of death. From outside, says Tacitus, the Christians were destroyed "to glut the savagery of a single man."²⁹ And from inside, say we, unconsciously to Nero the Christians were managed to death as heretics by hate and craft of the orthodox Jews of Poppea.

As yet (A.D. 54-68) had happened no rupture between Jew and Roman. As patron and client, on had they fared not unamicably together. Tiffs and impatiences there had been, for the Roman was imperious, nor meek the Jew. Yet from the days of the Maccabees (161 B.C.) had they kept pledge to each other as fairly as are possible to be kept obligations between a great people and a small. But, in Jewish rebellion and Roman wrath, when (A.D. 70) went down Jerusalem went down too amity forever between the Roman and the Jew. Except for a moment's suspension, when, to

²⁶ Tacitus, *Annals*, (Bohn) 423.

²⁷ Chambers' *Encyclopædia*, Persecutions, The Ten of the Christian Church."

²⁸ Gibbon (Bohn) 108, 109, Note by Ed.

²⁹ Tacitus, *Annals* (Bohn) 423.

spite the Christians, to his abortive effort to re-erect their Temple Julian (A.D. 363) summoned the Jews to Jerusalem, never, after Titus, meant act of Rome kindness to the Jew, nor ever anent him, fell word from Roman writer that dropped else than blister on the Jewish name. Truth is, that at Rome, where chiefly her writers met them, the majority of the Jews were scabs on the body of their race.

Before their later wars with her, Jewish residents in the great city had been mostly freemen. But Pompey's successful assault on Jerusalem (A.D. 64) had swept Jews by thousands into the slave markets of Rome. Followed these the innumerable droves of Titus, "sold each (person) at an extremely low price, both from the glut of the market and the dearth of purchasers. The number sold was incalculable."³⁰ By the tenacious isolations of their race and religion least pliant of all peoples were the Jews to the humiliations of slavery and therefore of all slaves would they be least liked by their masters. To this, add thought of the generosity of that Abrahamic kinship, which, to this day, makes a Jewish tramp an impossibility, and be sure that the captives of Pompey were quickly ransomed and emancipated.³¹ Of the hundred thousand enslaved by Titus, many scattering elsewhere, most doubtless were sucked into the gullet of Rome, and like the prisoners of Pompey, were redeemed by their richer kin. By these hailed at once and in full as freemen, by law and social code of Rome, they were but one remove from slavery with its taint upon them still. Freedmen, not freemen, they. And to erase the trace of servitude cost the attrition of three generations.³² But slaves or freedmen, such a mass of proletarianism flung pell-mell on the hitherto irreproachable Jewish citizenship of Rome, sank it, in public estimate, leagues below its previous position. And the proud Roman grew shy of his whilom "friends and confederates," and Maccabean memories with their friendly reciprocities between Jew and Roman, and later traditions of Jewish fealty to Rome and Julius Cæsar,

³⁰ Josephus' War, vi. viii. 2.

³¹ Millman's Hist. of the Jews, ii. 458.

³² Gibbon (Bohn) i. 55.

merged in the growing dislike of the social superior to the social inferior, exasperated between them, for long, by the defiant attitude of the beaten but impracticable Jew, and by the secret antagonism of race.

To ransom such multitudes of their countrymen the better classes of the Jews at Rome must have been rich. Wealth, growled Cicero, that should have been circulating in Italy went out of the country to swell the Treasury of the Temple of Jerusalem. But the Satires of the time taking cue from the condition of the generality of the colony in the city, flout the Jews as odious, because poor and sordid. "Herod's birthday come, . . . the lamps on the greasy window-sill, . . . their unctuous smoke, . . . the (coarse) tunny's (coarser) tail . . . in the red dish! You shudder at the Sabbaths of the circumcised." So Persius. Fiercer, Juvenal. The grave once sacred to Numa and Ægeria, "grave of the once hallowed fountains, and the temples, in our days are let out to Jews, a mass of beggars!"³³ What wonder that the Roman of the baths should recoil from the Jew of the gutter, the Roman of the legions, again and again baffled by him in battle, curse the incarnation of broil and rebellion.

After the fall of Jerusalem under Titus, "Jew," meant vileness and revolt. Mention of him by every Roman writer always disdainful is always ferocious. Anent him the feeling at Rome was scorn alert with alarm. For never long allowed he his tyrant to forget that, her heel on his head, what she held in chain was a dragon, down, but defiant, writhing its links through all her provinces, and everywhere against her panting with breath of flame. Despise the Jew, Rome did. But with fury. "It inflamed (her) resentment that the Jews were the only nation that had not submitted."³⁴ Fierce fighter for his freedom, abjuring his overthrow by Titus as a final fall, once, twice, thrice, afterwards against overwhelming Rome rebounded the indomitable Jew. Never rebel to Rome incorrigible as he. Revolt on revolt, headlong, infuri-

³³ Persius Satire, v. (Bohn) 257. Juvenal Satire, iii. (Bohn) 15.

³⁴ Tacitus, History, (Bohn) 274.

ated the Roman and frenzied to delirium the desperation of the Jew. Nor till Hadrian (A.D. 131) smothered the gasps of expiring Judea in the ashes of demolished Jerusalem, broke heart and hope of him over his conviction of his extinction as a nation.

Not utterly. Two hundred years after Hadrian, in A.D. 363, edict of Emperor Julian, and letter of his to the Jewish people and their Patriarch, "his brother," bade rise again, and in fullness of its former splendor the Jewish Temple. To that order thrilled the race around the world. From everywhere they crowded to Jerusalem. To speed the end, avarice emptied its hoards, women flung in their jewels, and carried off the rubbish "in mantles of silk and purple." Spade and pickaxe were of silver. The blind groped, the infirm and the old tottered along the ways, to fancy themselves of use. And in Julian, Apostle of Heathenism, some of their fanatics hailed the Messiah.³⁵ In fire and ruin that work went down, and with it, the last attempt of the Jews to reorganize themselves as a nation. Since then, sprinkled everywhere, they have been "The Dispersed."

But while yet in unity, what a man was the Jew! From the decline of the glories of the Maccabees, until his last rally to the site of his Temple and his flight from its exploding foundations, he owned himself under blame of God. Yet, through all that term who, as he, ever so true to God? In his night-most darkness, above his broken battles, his faith flamed higher than it ever had soared from his harvest fields of peace. To him, his reverses were rebukes from Heaven; deserts of his sins; yet tokens too, that he was still remembered there, and, that if for distant, yet for full and final, deliverance, he was graven on the heart and hands of God. Jehovah might slay him, yet would Judah trust Jehovah. The night would pass, the day dawn; "a Star, come out of

³⁵ Gibbon (Bohn) II. 530-539, and Milman's *History of the Jews*, III. 25-30. Says Ammianus Marcellinus, a contemporary and admirer of Julian, and a philosophic heathen: "Fearful balls of fire burst forth, with continual eruptions, burning several of the workmen, and making the spot altogether inaccessible; the attempt, was laid aside." Ammianus Marcellinus (Bohn) 817.

Jacob, a sceptre rise out of Israel." And above a prostrate world, the Jew should yet circle the throne of his Messiah. Just at such a time came flaming to his hopes (A.D. 130), again to rouse them to madness, again to quench them in despair, another Messiah, Bar-cohab, Son of the Star.

First and wisest of the Rabbis, and Head of the Sanhedrin, say some, was Rabbi Akiba. Zealous for Bar-cohab, he deserved and accepted the appellation of standard bearer of the "Son of the Star." Akiba announced him as the come-at-last Messiah. In public assembly, of Bar-cohab, to Rabbi Jochanan, shouted Rabbi Akiba, "the days of redemption are at hand; behold the Star, come out of Jacob"! And, "Akiba, grass will spring from thy jaw bone," retorted Jochanan, "nor yet the Son of David have come." But skeptics like Jochanan were few. The masses rose for their Messiah; with 200,000 men won back the ruins of Jerusalem; and, masters of fifty strong castles and nine hundred and eighty-five villages throughout the country, for three years and a half (132-135 A.C.), against Rome, held Judea by sweep of sword.³⁰

Reconquest of the country by Julius Severus, the chosen General of Hadrian, fared slowly. For Severus had fought in Britain, less against masses in array, than against ambushes, retreats, sallies, surprises, tactics of Highland war. And these, chiefly, now, were the tactics of the Jew. He was cautious, because, this time he was desperate. By the instinct, in great crises, seizing the souls of men, he felt that to him, this conflict was final. It left him no retreat; if beaten, no retrieval. Fight and win, its oracle bade him, or, fight and fall to be forever fallen. He had flung his gage, tossed away his scabbard, and point to point, foot to foot, eye to eye, stood before the world at bay with Rome. Yet unless it were swept to him in some hurricane of victory, he had no eagerness for the end. Despite his illusions and his dauntlessness, he knew the might of Rome, and foreboded the catastrophe. But while the balance held, he was a nation, or could persuade himself that he was.

³⁰ Milman's Jews, ii. 432-445.

Break dream of delight from pillow of misery, what thank get you from the sleeper you have recalled to his despair? Conscious of its gauziness, the Jew caressed his dream and resented its disturbance. "At thine extremest, Jew, to His cause and thine, comes the sudden God!" So charmed him his prophets of the time. Deluding, because themselves deluded, prophets in his heart he felt them, but in the same heart doated on their message, and yearned to think it true. For while with equal scale hung poised the war, as for three doubtful years hang poised it did (A.D. 132-135), his illusion was the hasheesh of his life. The final tug, to human seeming, was sure to wrestle him to sod. But, again, Jehovah to help, why should not human foresight be confounded, and trumpets of triumph yet blare to the world the victory, the independence, the kingdom of God, and of the Jew? Illusion hollow even to himself. Yet leave it him. The struggle will not, but might, end in his favor. So leave him his exaltation, his trance, his rapture. It will muscle his arm and impassion his sword to the last. And if then must perish Judea, let then his arm wither, and his sword go rust in the blood and ruins of undone Jerusalem. For, fronted his daring and endurance, the daring, the endurance and, dreader far, as well he knew, the illimitable reinforcements of Rome; and, to his gaze on the contrast, unrolled before him the spectacle of his doom.

But, Messiah?

In trust of heavenly rescue at the last, to the last, sanguine though fearful, fought his multitudes in fight of desperation. And thus communed with himself the thoughtful Jew, "Come, the end, nor yet Messiah; what?" Extreme to extreme, would not then, among his credulous, superstition plunge in Atheism? And even among his devoutest, would not that "Son of Man," the "elect one," the "Messiah," Son of God,³⁷ Head of Jewry, and the Kingdom of God on earth, wane, an illusion on the sky of a weary faith, and fade in fine to a spectre of fancy on the eyeballs of despair? So

³⁷ Book of Enoch xlii. 1, 2; xlviii. 2, 5; civ. 2.

must then have feared the meditative Jew. And, apparently, all but Akiba, so feared the Rabbis. But, girt in outer unity as was he by his Law of Moses, so cohered he in unity within by his common longing for his Messiah.

As man, or nation, when saddest on the religious Jew settled the clay of life, highest then sought he in soul to God. And when to heart and flesh came pause of prayer, bore he from it, as from our heavenly trystes bear we, impress, consciousness, deposit of God. His "Holiness," called it Moses. His "Light and Truth," the Psalmist. In the sorrow but hope of the Captivity it took form and person, and on lip of prophet and in pulse of people, leaped, Messiah. Pondering the crisis provoked by Barcocheba often must have said to himself the contemplative Jew, if then such Jew there were, exploded this false Messiah and expectation wrecked again, what hinders shake of faith in the best of us towards the True? And there an end? To the nation, yes. But not to the people, not to the Jew, not to the Jew's Messiah. For, surmounting the fall of Jerusalem the desolation of Judea, nor exhaling, as some feared, from the faith of the defeated, as of yore to the fathers so again to the sons, Pillar of Fire, his Messiah lit the Jew on his tread of pain through the midnight misery of his second wilderness in the long Dark Ages. Mirk enough these even to the foremost among the Gentiles. Yet to them flickered sometimes through the gloom auroras of a sunshine yet to come. But from his horizon, on his habitation, of any hope, cheer, prospect of betterment in the future, fell there never a gleam. Darkness, "thick darkness, darkness which might be felt," isolating him from the common wealth of humanity, belted him, home and household, and immured him from mankind, the leper of the world. Yet, blackness as of Egypt without, within, it was then as it had been before when "all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings."²⁸ For, door closed, blinds drawn, on hearth, Messiah! Nor, medley of earthly and heavenly promise as was always the Messiah of the Jews, has He to this present

²⁸ Exodus x. 23.

forgotten His devotee. Plucking him from his Ghettos, He has mounted him on thrones unpurpled, but golden, there to press hands on the Exchequer of the nations, arbiter of peace, war, and every movement of moment among the Gentiles, because autocrat of the finances of the world. For the royalty of the Messiah of the Jew, though of heaven, was to be a royalty on earth. And there, in time, the Jew bids fair to establish it. But let us back to the Jew of Barcocheba in the gloom of his lost Culloden.

Sunk to silence the bray of the war, half its horrors under sod, its saddest half moaning in a thousand homes of misery, gone his fantasies, but fast his faith, and, like spent tempest that has lost its heart, empty his for a while of his turbulent Messiah, thinking back on his headlong rush to the ensigns of Barcochab, what of him and his evaporated enthusiasm thinks now the reflecting Jew? That, as Isaiah says to him, his "strength for the present, is to sit still."³⁰ And for a good while thereafter still he sat, and muffled his contempt of himself in snarls at his impostor — "Bar-cochaba, Son of a Star, said he, Barcosba, Son of a Lie!

After his overthrow by Titus, in his every revolt against Rome, and specially in this last under Hadrian (A.D. 132-135), to the thought of the Jew his every defeat fell on him from frown of God. But sanguine throughout, thought he always that in his next battle, or its next, his glancing battalions would glitter surely under shine of the Shekinah. Did not Prophecy head his van, and Fate impulse his rearward? Aye, But to other issues than he thought of. Unfettered by the extasy in his, others' eyes foresaw curd farther course for him, and at its close, doom. For in mass and resistance as a wall heaven high against him, in numbers and might resistless as the sea, in discipline, domineering victory, in valor of fire almost his match, in valor of iron, tension, tug, his superior, fronting the Jew and his next audacity, if he dared one, stood await the stern omnipotence of Rome. Inexpugnable? Perhaps. Unassailable? He would try. And

³⁰ Isaiah xxx. 7.

mauling every boss and buckler of its mightiness, at last like a champion of the Mid Ages full knightly fell he on his shield. No moan for him be made. Against a banded world, against catastrophe inevitable, he fought the fight, and found the death, of the brave. As against the scorn of the world on much of what, later, he became, let clash the cymbals, shrill the fife, and roll the drum, above the grave where droops the Memory of what once he was.

Rev. A. G. Laurie.

ARTICLE XXVII.

Ralph Waldo Emerson and Hosea Ballou.

SCARCELY two contemporaneous New Englanders could be more unlike than these in environment. Yet when brought into association we find their kinship vital.

In outward fortune and personal relations they were extremely different.

Emerson's heritage was the best New England in his day could give. Born in wonderful, enviable, self-conceited Boston, of blue-red blood ; a son of a clergyman, yet, strange to say, inheriting a worldly competency ; in early manhood a Unitarian, hence an idolator of literary culture ; a graduate of Harvard ; successor of Henry Ware in a Boston pulpit ; a student of various literatures and of art in its masterpieces ; an observant and favored traveller in countries of the old world ; possessing from first to last, and especially in his later years, the grace of cultured leisure, — there would seem to be nothing wanting in his external life-school for his round self-development.

Hosea Ballou was born in an obscure country town, Richmond, N. H., the thirteenth child of a poverty-stricken Baptist preacher. Fear of hunger for his family kept him in his boyhood at hard manual labor in the field. At nineteen he

had not attended school one day ; he had then barely learned to read. The only book with which he became familiar in his boyhood was the Bible. Destitute of means of literary culture, the scope of his early mental vision was necessarily narrow.

But rooted even in this unlikeness are some points of resemblance.

Fifty years ago Unitarianism was Puritanism slightly modified. It broke from the so-called Orthodoxy of the previous age on the single doctrine of the Trinity. It ventured no denial of the old reputed orthodox doctrine of total depravity, both as applied to human nature and the Divine Character. It regarded the Bible, not as a human history of divine inspirations, but as every word a literally direct utterance of God. In common with the older sects, which it sought to propitiate, it worshipped a God who, it was virtually imagined, had retired from active participation in the affairs of the universe. It expected of its preachers only a parrot-like repetition of dead phrases. It aimed to save the elect by conjuring up a mild fright over "belated ghosts." Its little company of the elect was all to be selected from graduates of Harvard College ; it was even an undecided question whether any one who had not pursued the full-course of the Harvard Divinity School could be worth saving.

Against this tendency, this repression, this narrowness, Ralph Waldo Emerson at the age of thirty made a brave protest. He did not have, and he never had, the scholar's spirit of patient research. He made no thorough study of the letter of the Bible. He did not, like the more conservative Channing, attempt to sound its spiritual deeps. Like Theodore Parker, he hastily assumed the Bible taught of God's chronic anger and a medieval inferno. From such a New Testament and such an Old Testament, he turned to the Older Testament written in human nature. He did what was manly for him to do under the circumstances — he left the pulpit. He discarded all external authority ; he hushed all other voices that he might listen for what his own soul

had to say to him. He became an exponent of the unsystematic philosophy we have known as Transcendentalism. From his meditative seclusion at Concord he sent forth, one after the other, his carefully elaborated essays, which, if mystical and rhapsodic to a degree, are at least candid endeavors after truth, and wondrous testimonies to the native divineness of the human soul. Hosea Ballou was born into a far drearier religious atmosphere than that which Emerson first breathed. Calvinism in that insulated town was not then, as it is now, the dead letter of a creed. It was actually believed. It turned human life into a disgust and made the prospect of death a nightmare. Mirth it frowned upon; a smile upon the Sabbath it shuddered at as a crime; it sought to drive laughter and joy out of the world, and turn the earth into a great charnel house, and make the march of the generations a vast funeral procession.

Hosea Ballou early began to feel that things in the universe were out of joint with this theology. His life became an inward far more than an outward struggle. Through the prescribed agony he became at nineteen a member of the Calvinist Baptist Church. Persuaded he himself was now one of the elect, his spiritual struggles, according to the religious spirit then prevalent, ought to have ended. What more could he desire than his own safety? But being, in a higher sense than even he then knew, one of God's elect, his struggles then intensified in severity. Why should some be elect, and others reprobate? Queries arose within him in his lonely musings he could not answer.

It has been said of him that in this period he had no teachers. In reality he had three. One was nature, of which he was a loving learner, from which he received suggestions of a Beneficent all-enfolding Providence. Another was his own soul, with its irrepressible cry for a larger hope. He had also the Bible. This latter, obscured by false teachings and wrong translations, was to him for a season an insoluble puzzle. Not doubting its divine authority, his question was, What does the Bible really teach? The first gleam of light

he received through its pages was its clear inculcation of a world-wide charity. Should man, he asked, be better than God?

In these investigations he had, it is true, no appreciable human help. Murray had been for some years preaching a world-wide hope in the sea-board cities, but his influence did not reach to that inland town. Hosea Ballou had, we should gratefully remember, some sympathy from his older brother David, also groping for the light, but with less thoroughness of investigation; yet, humanly speaking, he was virtually alone in his good fight of faith.

But he had clear native insight, large spiritual sympathy, an almost peerless logical faculty, and unusual comprehensiveness of mental grasp, and he wrought with the persevering faith before which mountainous difficulties are removed. At last the doctrine that God is the Universal Father and his nature Love came into clear revelation to his inner eyes through the sacred page. He unhesitatingly accepted it as the central truth of the universe. He at once saw that with this stupendous truth all divine punishments and providences must be harmonized. Ravishing now was the rapture of his soul. He lived in a new world and under a new heaven; the former shadowed world and lowering heaven had passed away. He had found the truth to which all his authoritative teachers, Nature, the Inner Voice, and the Holy Scriptures, gave accordant testimony.

He became possessed of an overpowering desire to tell the good news to his fellow-men. He now became an earnest student, with the ministry in view. Soon he essayed to preach to his neighbors. But he could not, in the presence of critical eyes, command either his words or thoughts. In the light of his later years we marvel he should completely fail, once, twice, thrice, in his attempts to preach. Yet there was such stuff in him, such deep conviction, such native genius, that these failures were only stepping-stones to a larger success. He set himself more heroically to self culture. It has been contemptuously said he did not study the English

grammar till after he was a preacher. But it is a small soul will sneer at his endeavor for self-emancipation from his early enforced illiteracy. With such earnest purpose and natural powers as he possessed, it was inevitable he should improve in facility of utterance. While yet a young man crowds were attracted by his fresh and original method of treating religious subjects. In the school of hard experience he had learned some lessons a College could not have taught him. He was specifically a man of the people. He knew how to engage and convince the common heart. No American — unless it be Abraham Lincoln, who came to eminence through a like experience in another field of endeavor — had more of the instinctive power which wins common sympathy and trust. When Hosea Ballou, in 1817, at forty six years of age, came to fulfill his final ministry of thirty-five years in Boston, he was widely recognized as the most effectual and convincing popular preacher in the American pulpit.

The coincident points in the careers of Emerson and Ballou, as now indicated, are these: Both early felt the thralldom of a dead yet reputed authoritative letter in religion; both broke away from bondage to their inherited narrow creeds; both aspired to larger liberty in thought and hope. The points of contrast are: Emerson had almost unlimited means of culture from the first — Ballou had no help from the schools; Emerson could range the world as a traveller and look into many literatures for the enlarging of his knowledge — Ballou in early life saw little of the world and had only the Bible for his library. Emerson became a partial and fitful disciple of many leaders in thought; of Montaigne the French materialist, Spinoza the Pantheist, Plato the great Grecian, and was for many years a dreaming, placid, wandering soul; Ballou became a specialist in biblical interpretation; his early faith in the Book grew brighter and more intense to the last; he had no thought of growth save in the profound depths and heights of revelation. To him the fellowship of Christ, the supreme witness of God's Love, stood for fellowship with all the good and true in earth and heaven.

It should be added, Ballou and Emerson were kindred to each other in honesty, simplicity and transparency of character. Ballou's kindly, childlike face, in his quiet moods, was a sure witness he had no bane of hate or poison of cunning in his heart. The same impression was received from the personal presence of Emerson. Widely as they were separated in the world and little as they appreciated each other, they were yet of nearer spiritual kin than they knew.

In style of speech, however, they were very dissimilar. Emerson was powerful in his repose. In his best days he was simply a very deliberate and self-possessed reader, yet having a strange charm in manner for those who came under his spell. Ballou made his arguments flame with feeling. A truth grew great and thrilling under his expounding and proof. He had a familiar, conversational style of speech, replete with illustrations drawn from common life; but this at times became exceedingly vehement; usually at the close of a sermon, when he had one of his central themes for his subject, he would bear very well John Ruskin's description of Carlyle — "a man born in the clouds and struck with lightning." Emerson was not a popular orator; he did not project his personality into his theme and his audience; he was simply delightful and charming to those who could sufficiently understand him to come under his sympathetic sway. Ballou had vast awakening power over every assembly he addressed in his maturer years.

We may farther compare and contrast these two men in their doctrines, or substance of faith.

Emerson was, with more or less consistency, a Transcendentalist. What is Transcendentalism? It is commonly thought to be a name given to an airy nothing, without a local habitation. It is more philosophically described as giving to the testimony of the intuitions, or the direct inner sense of things, the chief authority as to what is truth. It consequently makes all external authority of secondary importance. Emerson professed to tell the world only what his own soul affirmed. He neither admitted nor denied Chris-

tianity. All history, because dependent on external evidence, was to him relatively uncertain. Until late in life he indulged few prophecies. He professed to content himself with knowledge of what is. For years he was not understood as believing in individual conscious existence after death ; but late in life he arrived at full assurance of the personal immortality of all souls. This he definitely stated in his last address before the Harvard Divinity School. In spirit, however, his affirmations were, as far as they reached, harmonious with Ballou's interpretation of Christianity. His teaching constantly became more Christian. In his last essays he is almost a Christian. He was a soul apart, yet he thought charitably and hopefully of mankind. He was in spirit a reformer. It is to be remembered in his praise that he was a mild yet open and steadfast Anti-Slavery man. Who can forget his *naïve* saying, when a fugitive was dragged through the streets of Boston back to slavery : " If we had a man, not a cockade, in the Governor's chair, something might be done." And in the realm of ideas, as far as his influence extended, he displaced the horrors of the old theology with better thoughts. In his essay on the " Over Soul " he describes God as altogether worthy human affection and adoration. In his essay on " Compensation " he elaborates the doctrine that the law of punishment is written in the nature of things and tends to the final elimination of evil. He does not often characterize popular errors ; his vocation is simply to speak what he himself feels is absolute truth. He suspends his usual method, however, when he contemplates the Deity of the old creeds. " That pure malignity can exist," he says, " is the extreme proposition of unbelief ; it is not to be entertained by a rational agent ; it is atheism ; it is the last profanation." Although not claiming the gift of prophecy, looking only for what is, he nevertheless exemplifies his own saying, " Consistency is the bugbear of little minds," by being himself a prophet of the most comprehensive optimism. " The divine effort," he says, " is never relaxed ; the carrion in the sun will convert itself to grass and flowers ; and man, though in

brothels or jails, or on gibbets, is on his way to all that is good and true." With him "the largest is always the truest sentiment." He speaks of Burns, saying to Satan,

"O wad ye tak a thought and men,"

as having "the advantage of the vindictive theologian." He leaves no possible room for misapprehension of his hope

—"that good shall fall

At last—far off—at last to all."

Emerson cannot be called a popular writer. It requires preparation and leisure to appreciatively read his books. He is read less than almost any American writer, yet probably is the most quoted of all. For those who have come under his spell, he is, as the critical Matthew Arnold concedes, the richest and most suggestive of modern authors. If he be not, as Arnold maintains, worthy of being ranked among the first-class writers of the ages, it cannot be denied he commends himself both by his terse, epigrammatic, poetical style, so peculiar to himself, and by that rare quality Arnold has named "sweet reasonableness." Wherever his influence has reached—and as a teacher of teachers his influence has gone far and wide—he has taught men self-respect, independence of thought, patient endurance and charity.

The transcendental philosophy is not to be received with unqualified faith. We doubtless need to have intuitive teaching clearly interpreted to us. But quite as much we need to learn from experience, and reason, and revelation. It narrows the conception of the universe to believe the only sure avenue to its facts is through intuition. In Emerson, we must confess, transcendentalism is dignified. It did not overload him with egotism. But in some imitators of Emerson, who have prated attenuated nonsense in the name of their intuitions, Transcendentalism deserves no better name than some sensible person has given it, "pale moonshine." We cannot discover in Transcendentalism much positive, regenerative force. If all men should set themselves to evolving their inner consciousness, we might have some things rich and strange, but

for most part we should have stale platitudes in ambiguous, high sounding phrases. This is not a gospel to save the world.

Transcendentalism in New England is now pretty much a thing of the past. It has served its day. It has no adhesive power. Snow-flakes, if cold, can hold to each other, and be rolled into a ball. But one might as well try to roll the sands of the beach into a ball as to organize and unify the disciples of Transcendentalism. Transcendentalism magnifies individualism, and there its mission ends. In its day, as a protest against the yoke of a medieval theology, its mission was manifestly good. But as a finality, disintegration of its sort is not good.

The New Testament is a plainer and diviner book after we have read Emerson. Even if we accept Matthew Arnold's estimate of Emerson, and rank him not a first-class poet, not a first-class philosopher, not a first class writer, we may yet with Arnold esteem him a great seer — indeed, the greatest non-Christian seer since Plato; and this is the assurance of his enduring fame. Emerson is profoundly a spiritual man; yet he had not wings on his spirit, like the old men of God. He finely phrases for us the facts which come within the range of his vision; but his words have no such eternal life as the words of the One who, more plainly than all men beside, saw God, and spake from impulse of His Spirit as never another man spake.

Hosea Ballou was the first, after Origen, to build the Universalist interpretation of Christianity into a consistent system of doctrines. His starting point was God's paternal love. Murray had previously universalized Calvinism; all, he said, are rescued from the prepared flames by ransom in the death of Christ. Winchester had affirmed final salvation for all, mainly because he conceived the sulphuric flame of the inferno purifying. Neither of these men saw the incongruity between such doctrines, on the one hand, as an infinite guilt incurred by all men in Adam, the scholastic Trinity, vicarious atonement, a personal devil, and on the other the doctrine of universal salvation. Ballou saw a radically different scheme of

things. He denied the literal existence of a Dantean inferno; he denied that the purpose of the Sovereign God in the creation was frustrated in the lapse of Adam; he denied a blood-appeal of Deity. He affirmed that God is the natural friend and lover of man. Man's only need of salvation is from his own sin and consequent natural guilt. He saw in the course of things a war against evil, a tendency to good. In Christ he saw the Son and Manifestation of God, the Father's overture of love to His children. He affirmed God's perfect Fatherhood and Omnipotence. God could not, for His own honor, fail in His purpose of a triumphant heaven. Punishment will endure while impenitence continues; yet Ballou saw no probability of long persistence against God in the blaze of the spiritual light which must come to every soul in the resurrection awakening. He believed that, here and there, it is the goodness of God which leads to repentance. He was persuaded that no soul can be separated from the love of God, made manifest to us in Christ. Ballou's positive Gospel was virtually this message to the world: God is the Father of us all; all His children are of one family; let us enter now into the full possession of our birthright; let us love and serve God and man, and thus be saved in a heaven here begun. This, in Hosea Ballou's vision, was the saving Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. He believed it effective to cause the will of God to be done on earth as in heaven.

Hosea Ballou was a sectarian, but not a bigot. A bigot he could not be and preach that all men are brothers, and equal in the Father's regard. But he recognized the truth that while opinions divide, faith fuses. He believed in an organized church. Especially did he see the need of the Universalist Church as a witness of the rejected truth of God. He loved his own household of faith; he loved it as the earthly home of his soul. His influence was ever for conciliation in unessential differences, that believers in a common faith may, by the deep joy of a common love, make apparent how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.

But more than the organized church, more than his life, he

loved his vision of truth. He was saturated with its spirit. In lonely self-struggles and unspeakable agonizings, he had learned his faith. While an unlettered boy he had achieved a victory of faith such as the cultured Emerson scarcely achieved in his lifetime of less strenuous endeavor. The anchor of Ballou's hope was forged in furnace heat, ever after it remained sure and steadfast, reaching within the veil. He was no agnostic; not for one moment did he doubt the reality of his heavenly vision; he lived in the peace of the full assurance of faith in a Sovereign God, and that under His Providence all will be well.

Ballou's insulated position as a sectarian, his independence of the schools, his want of literary refinement, relatively confine his fame. He is not now widely honored like Emerson. Yet it must some day be seen by the whole church what a mighty work he accomplished. A modern Orthodox critic says: "Hosea Ballou was the theological giant who broke the backbone of Calvinism in New England." He must take his place among the providential emancipators of the world. That his work is not yet seen in its true relations by many who have indirectly shared in its beneficent results, is reason why the members of the church to which he specially gave his life-long endeavors, should keep green his memory and continue to share his inspiration.

According to their lights, Emerson and Ballou were both noble and heroic men. They did not know nor appreciate each other in this world. Let us hope that the dividing lines between them are removed in the world where they now are. Meanwhile we should esteem them both, as in different spheres and by different methods, servants of spiritual freedom and sincerity, and human charity and divine hope.

Rev. O. F. Safford.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

On Some Recent Contributions to North American Ethnology.

THE study of certain phases of North American ethnology has been opened anew, and under more favorable auspices than ever before. Dominating errors, emanating from supposed authorities, have been incorporated into both general and special histories, thus misleading and warping opinions relative to the actual position of the aborigines. The view that "no trace of an *alphabet* existed at the time of the conquest of the continent of America,"¹ although prevalent and influencing the investigator, arises either from a neglect to study, or else a want of appreciation of the earlier Spanish histories of the continent. The histories of Acosta, Cogolludo, Bernal Diaz, Gomara, Herrera, Ixtlilxochitl, Landa, Las Casas, Sahagun, Oviedo, Ximenez, and others, too long neglected, are now being carefully examined under the light of accumulated discoveries. The collected experience of the last three hundred years has served to indorse the earlier historians and to dispose of later writers.

The favorable reaction which has set in and bids fair to give correct information, is owing to the energy and fidelity of a very small school of ethnologists. The outcome of the present active pursuits is looked to as prophesying the most favorable results.

The ascendant race may well be excused for not entering enthusiastically into the study of the language, history, and ethnology of the natives, because his sympathies are beyond the ocean, where he traces his origin and civilization. That civilization taught him there was a monstrous Evil Spirit, and the legends and religious expressions of the lower races were the inventions and snares of the Father of Lies. Aside from this, it must be regarded that, on purely ethnological grounds, the mythology, language, manners, and customs of both the Barbaric and Toltec families are just as important, necessary and fascinating.

¹ "Types of Mankind," p. 328,

If it be admitted that the natives were lower, intellectually and socially, than the exotic races that now occupy America, then their moral condition cannot be so great, and to be appreciated must not be passed over in the spirit of a prude. Perhaps behind the offensive there may lurk an expression that tells of higher things.

The investigation will go on. The past will be presented clearly and intelligently by that class above mentioned. Foremost in the ranks stands Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, who has exhibited a devotion which is being emulated by others. His prolific pen and open hand in publishing works on the subject at what must be a financial sacrifice, elicit the admiration of those who are capable of appreciating the service. His latest works are worthy, in this place, of a brief notice.

ABORIGINAL AUTHORS.²

The red race possesses a vivid imagination, a fervid oratory, a love of story-telling, a fondness for tropes, and a logically developed language. He peoples the air, earth, and water with creatures of his fancy; explains all with nicety of expression, and forcibly defines the more delicate relationship of ideas. His sentences are clear, flowing and sonorous.³ They readily acquire the various dialects spoken by different tribes. Mr. Stephen Powers informs us that "among the tribes surrounding the Hupâ, I found many Indians speaking three, four, five, or more languages, always including Hupâ, and generally English."⁴

If the Indian was so well equipped in his own language,

² "Aboriginal American Authors and their Productions; especially those in the native languages. A Chapter in the History of Literature. By Daniel G. Brinton, A.M., M.D. Philadelphia: 1888.

³ This statement must be taken with many broad exceptions. In Stephen Power's *Tribes of California* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. III.), we are informed that "the Kabinapek language is extremely rugged, hirsute, and guttural" (p. 206). The Makhelchel "language is like the Kabinapek phonetically, even more harsh and difficult. It is full of hissing sounds" (p. 215). The Shastika "language is a difficult one, many of the verbs being polysyllabic and harsh" (p. 250). "The language of Pitt River is so hopelessly consonantal, harsh and sesquipedalian, so utterly unlike the sweet and simple languages of the Sacramento, that to reduce it to writing one must linger for weeks, and cause the Indians to repeat the words many times" (p. 272).

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 78.

why, then, did he not employ his energies in creating a literature? The ready acquisition of a foreign language is no evidence of intellectual superiority. It is possible that those who so readily acquire languages are impotent in more important directions. The reputations of Elihu Burritt and Mezzofanti are not founded on any literary or learned works they have written, but on the remarkable extent of their linguistic acquisitions. The power is one rather of physical than intellectual force. However, a well formed language and the love of fine distinctions would have a tendency to produce a literature; and, if what is claimed of the Indian tongue be true, somewhere it must occur. The ethnologist was not surprised to learn that very creditable literary work in both English and Spanish has been done. Even more creditable productions are found in their own language, especially in the Maya and some of the Central American tongues. It cannot be safely affirmed that the contact with European civilization had a tendency to assist and elevate Indian literature; for we cannot close our eyes against the awful truth that the Indian has gradually and steadily gone down under it.

Many manuscripts remain whose authors are unknown. Some authors are known and their names are given. In 1825 David Cusick, a full-blooded Tuscarora, printed his "Ancient History of the Six Nations."⁵ In it he attempts to narrate in chronological order the traditions of his tribe. Considering he was not skilled in the English tongue and understood its grammar imperfectly, the work is one of merit. He has arranged the matter skillfully, while some of the passages are quaintly vivid and forcible. Of this work the distinguished ethnologist, Horatio Hale says, "wherever the test of linguistic evidence, the best of all proofs in ethnological questions, can be applied to his statements relative to the origin and connection of the tribes, they are invariably confirmed."⁶

In 1870, at Toronto, Peter Dooyentate Clarke published his

⁵ Published at Lewiston, N. Y., in 1825, reprinted at Lockport, N. Y., in 1848, and even *verbatim et literatim* in Schoolcraft's *History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes*. Vol. V., pp. 632-46.

⁶ "The Iroquois Book of Rites," p. 12.

readable little book, entitled *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts*. Chief Elias Johnson published at Lockport (1881) a *History of the Six Nations*, which is very creditably composed. Other works have appeared written by Rev. William Apress, of the Pequod tribe; George Copway, a chief of the Ojibways; also by Rev. Peter Jones, of the same tribe.

Among the semi-civilized natives of Mexico, Central America and Peru, are found the best writings. These people readily acquired the Spanish and Latin languages, became skilled grammarians, and wrote both prose and verse with commendable accuracy. The list of native Mexican authors is a large one, the most widely known being Ixtlilxochitl, a lineal descendent of the sovereigns of Tezcucuo. Prescott, although criticizing his style and the manner of handling his matter, regards him as "a prominent authority," and acknowledges "his language is simple, and, occasionally, eloquent and touching. His descriptions are highly picturesque. He abounds in familiar anecdote; and the natural graces of his manner, in detailing the more striking events of history and the personal adventures of his heroes, entitle him to the name of the Livy of Auahuac."⁷

In South America were the Incas of Peru, well developed in the arts of civilization. They had a literature of their own, and several specimens of their poetical and dramatic compositions have been preserved, which indicate correct taste. While they possessed no methods of writing, yet they had various mnemonic aids, by which they were able to recall their historical traditions and their poetical efforts. Among the authors the Inca Garcillasse de la Vega, must needs be mentioned. He takes first rank among Spanish American historians, and has acquired a greater celebrity than any other writer on ancient Peruvian history. He was a *mestizo*, his father being European and his mother the granddaughter of the renowned Tupac Inca Yupanqui. The writings of Don Luis Inca are lost, and those of Don Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui are very valuable.

⁷ *Conquest of Mexico*, Vol. I., p. 207.

At the time of the conquest a system of writing was in vogue in Mexico, Yucatan, Nicaragua, and one or two districts in South America. The Mayas of Yucatan had books resembling the ordinary quarto volume. The Nicaraguans made use of parchment volumes, folded into a neat and portable compass. The literature of the various nations embraced the narrative, didactic, oratorical, poetical and dramatic; all of which Dr. Brinton clearly and ably sets forth.

AMERICAN HERO MYTHS.⁸

The culture heroes among the various nations of the earth have their points of resemblance. Illustrative of this the following might be cited: the Phœnician Cadmus brought sixteen letters of the Greek alphabet into Greece, and founded Bœotian Thebes, 1550 B. C.; also, Mercury, the inventor of the lyre, letters, commerce, and of gymnastic exercise, and the patron of orators, merchants, travellers and shepherds. Thoth, of the Egyptians, brought language and writing from the skies, and was the originator of geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, medicine, music, and rhythm; he instituted religion and the sacred processions. Manu, among the Hindus, taught the science of government and the mode of life. Among the Americans Quetzalcoatl was the teacher of arts, the wise law-giver, the virtuous prince, the master-builder, and the merciful judge of the Aztecs. Viracocha was the beneficent teacher and wise ruler of the Inca Peruvians. Itzamna was the guide, instructor and civilizer of the Mayas, and who invented for them their letters and devised their characters. Michabo taught the Algonkin tribes the art of fishing, hunting, the mysteries of religion, picture writing, and the interpretation of dreams. Ioskeha taught the Iroquois the art of making fire, how to cultivate maize, and was ever at hand with instruction and assistance.

A school of comparative mythologists now flourishes that does away with culture heroes, by giving an entirely different interpretation to all these myths, holding that they are simply

⁸ "American Hero Myths. A Study in the Native Religions of the Western Continent." By Daniel G. Brinton, M.D. Philadelphia, 1882.

the personification of the heavenly bodies, viz., the sun, moon, light and darkness. This school advocates that the various departments of mythology should be carefully studied; because the many religious legends of the different races express in image their opinions on the mightiest topics of human thought, — on the origin and destiny of his being, his grounds of hope, and his motive of action. In the coarse and crude narrations of the lower races are gleams of mental light breaking through the horizon of darkness which the proud Celt and Goth have struggled through. The methods of the past must be set aside, and the general terms of “heliolatry,” “aminism,” “ancestral worship,” and “primitive philosophizing,” must be abolished.

Dr. Brinton has caught the spirit of this modern European school, and has thrown his energies into the deciphering of the hero myths of the New World. If the new method of analyzing the myths of classic lore has been fully established with satisfactory clearness, then the author of *American Hero Myths* has not failed in his attempt. Quetzalcoatl becomes the Light. His long beard and white face refer to this. Over the great river which flowed through Tollan, was his house. Every night he descended into the river to bathe, and the place of his bath was called “In the Painted Vase.” He appears in the east and takes his mysterious departure in the west. It is the Orb of Light dipping nightly in the waters of the World Stream, bathing “In the Precious Waters.” Viracocha is also Light. According to tradition there was a time when men lived in darkness. In answer to their urgent prayers the sun emerged from Lake Titicaca, followed by a man from the south, of fair complexion, large stature, and venerable presence. After performing marvellous things, he journeyed toward the north. Either he, or a similar one, returned and passed towards the west until he reached the seashore. Here he spread out his mantle, sailed away and was never heard of again. According to Garcilasso, “he was a man of good stature, with a large beard, more than an inch in length, garments long and wide, like a tunic or cassock,

reaching to the feet.”⁹ To him the name of Viracocha was given, which means “Sea of Fat,” or “Foam of the Sea.” Itzamna was the personification of Light. He came from the distant east, ruled the winds and rains, and sent at his will harvests and prosperity. The name denotes the welcome advent of the light; for it is derived from *i*, grandson by a son, *zaniel*, morning, and *na*, mother. Michabo was the Giant Rabbit. In the Algonkin tongue it is *Missabos*, compounded from *mitchi* or *missi*, great, and *wabos*, rabbit; but there is a whole class of related words, sounding like *wabos*, referring to widely different perceptions, all from the general root *wab*, which forms such words as *wabi*, he sees; *waban*, the east, daylight; *wabish*, white, etc. This would give to Michabo the meaning of Great Light, the Dawn. Ioskeha, in the Oneida dialect, literally means “it is about to grow white.” His home is represented in the far east, on the horizon where the sun rises.¹⁰ Other culture heroes are given, and their origin set forth.

⁹ Rivero & Von Tschudi's “Peruvian Antiquities,” p. 164.

¹⁰ This cutting of words to pieces in order to do away with supposed or required means and to obtain others, reminds me of the ingenious French ecclesiastic, who by the same method proved Napoleon Bonaparte to be a mythological character:

(a) Between the name Napoleon and Apollo, or Apoleon, the god of the sun, there is but a trifling difference. This difference is lessened when the spelling of the name on the Place Vendôme is considered, where it stands Néapoleô. The syllable *Ne* prefixed to the name of the sun-god makes it a particle of affirmation, indicating that Napoleon was the true Apollo or sun. The name Bonaparte makes the French hero conclusively the luminary of the day. The day has its two parts, the good and luminous portion, and the dark and bad. The former belongs to the sun, and the bad portion to the moon and stars. Therefore it is natural that Apollo, or Né Apoleôn, should receive the surname Bonaparte. (b) Apollo was born in Delos, a Mediterranean island; Napoleon in Corsica, an island of the same sea. Pausanias declared Apollo to be an Egyptian deity; so the fabulous Napoleon is represented to have been in Egypt, and regarded by the inhabitants with veneration. (c) His mother was said to be Letitia, which signifies joy and is the personification of Light. Letitia, then, is no other than the break of day. Now the Greek name for the mother of Apollo was Leto, and the Roman Latona. But Leto is the unused form of the verb lætor, and signified to inspire joy. From this unused form the substantive Letitia is derived. This would identify the mother of Napoleon with the Greek Leto and the Latin Latona. (d) The popular story makes Napoleon have three sisters; so it was with the Greek deity, who had the three Graces. (e) The fabled Napoleon had four brothers. This but represents the anthropomorphism of the four seasons. It is objected that the seasons should be females. But in the French language the seasons are masculine, except autumn, the gender of which is undecided by grammarians. Of these brothers three were kings, one ruling over Spring, one over Summer, and one over Autumn. Winter in reality has no reign, hence one of his brothers is represented to have been a king in the decline of the power of Napoleon. His kingdom was Canino, a name derived from *canis*, or the whitened hairs of a frozen old age. All the brothers drew their power from Napoleon. (f) Napoleon is said to have had two wives. So had Apollo, the moon and the earth. By the former he had no potency, but by the latter only the little son Horus. This is an Egyptian allëgory, representing the fruits of the earth fertilized by

Some statements of the author are open to just criticism. For instance (p. 18), he declares that Christianity "is the highest of all religions, but it is not monotheism." He neglects to tell just what it is. Is it polytheism, or dualism, or is the doctrine of tri-unity set forth? In the interpretation of Biblical themes no allowance must be made for preconceived opinions or early religious culture. The fact is placed before us, and we must deal squarely. If it is not monotheism, then it does away with Moses and the prophets. Then the New is not the fulfilment of the Old, for the very cornerstone of Judaism is, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord." Does the Christian religion deny this proposition? If so, it proves false to its inception.

Dr. Brinton regards the Toltecs as purely mythical, and declares that "they have hovered about the dawn of American history long enough" (p. 86). Admitting that the term means "Child of Light," "one of the far darting," or "bright shining rays of the sun," that would not necessarily invalidate the whole connection. The Peruvians, Central Americans, Mexicans, Mayas, and the builders of the monuments of the Ohio valley must have had an origin, and if from one parent stock it might as well be called Toltecan as anything else. But again, every word must have a meaning. If Tollan did not possess its present meaning, it must have another. But shall truth rest simply on the origin of names? We might argue with as much plausibility that there never was a Rome. The word comes from the Greek *Ρώμη*, which means bodily strength, force, vigor, firmness, courage, boldness, power.

the son. The myth asserts that Napoleon's son was born the 20th March, the season of the spring equinox, when agriculture assumes its period of activity. (g) Napoleon is said to have released France from the scourge of a revolution; so the Greek legend makes Apollo release Hellas from the terrible Python. Even the name *revolution*, from the Latin *revolve*, is indicative of the coils of a serpent. (h) The modern hero had twelve marshals at the head of his armies, and four who were stationary and inactive. The twelve first are the signs of the Zodiac marching under the orders of the sun Napoleon. The four stationary are the cardinal points. (i) Napoleon is represented as having gloriously traversed the South, but failed in the North. This is but the sun, which assumes its greatest power in the south, and is then driven back from the boreal regions. (j) Finally, the sun rises in the east and sets in the western sea, after a reign of twelve hours in the sky. So Napoleon comes from the Mediterranean isle, holds the reins of government twelve years, and then disappears in the mysterious regions of the great Atlantic!—See Baring Gould's *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, pp. 128-33. What a wonderful science is philology!

There was a goddess by that name. Around the origin of the city have hovered marvellous tales and legends. Shall we conclude that Rome was a myth? Philology must not be built on the plan of the deacon's "One Hoss Shay."

KICHE MYTHS.¹¹

The most cultivated of all the Americans were those nations speaking the "Maya-Kiche" linguistic stock. The principal nations speaking this tongue, and the ones from which the name is derived, are the Mayas of Yucatan and the Kiche, or Quiche, Indians of Guatemala. The latter nation was prominently brought into notice by the publication of the Popol Vuh. Dr. Scherzer first printed it at Vienna in 1857; afterwards the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg translated it into French.¹² Bancroft¹³ gives it in a somewhat condensed form. Prof. Max Müller thinks it is possible that its writers have felt the influence of Europeans; "yet even if a Christian influence has to be admitted, much remains in these American traditions which is so different from anything else in the national literatures of other countries, that we may safely treat it as the genuine growth of the intellectual soil of America."¹⁴ Baldwin¹⁵ gives a dilution of Müller's paper without any acknowledgment. Prof. Short¹⁶ has a resumé which affords an intelligent account.

The Popol Vuh is one of the rarest relics of aboriginal thought, and its rude, strange eloquence and poetic originality are strongly marked. It opens with the following language: "We are to bring forward the manifestations, the revelation, the declaration of that which was hidden, the enlightenment caused by Him who Creates, Him who fashions creatures, Her

¹¹ *The Names of the Gods in the Kiche Myths, Central America.* By Daniel G. Brinton, M.D. Philadelphia. 1881.

¹² Under date of Feb. 1884, Dr. Brinton writes me that he would include the Popol Vuh in his list of "Aboriginal American Literature," provided he could secure the original text and an accurate translation. He is in correspondence with a person competent to translate it. His series would be very incomplete without it.

¹³ *Native Races*, Vol. III., pp. 42-54.

¹⁴ *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. I., p. 328.

¹⁵ *Ancient America*, pp. 191-7.

¹⁶ *North Americans of Antiquity*, pp. 212-31.

who bears sons, Him who begets sons, whose names are Hun-Ahpu-Vuch, Hun-Ahpu-Utiu, Zaki-Nima-Tzyiz, Tepeu, Gucumatz, Qux-cho, Qux-palo, Ah-raxa lak, Ah-raxa-sel."

The pamphlet is devoted to an analysis of these and other names of the gods of the Kiche pantheon, as contained in the Popol Vuh. Our author takes direct issue with the Abbé Brasseur, who regarded Xibalba as the "name of an ancient state in the valley of the Usunasinta in Tabasco, the capital of which was Palenque." The original form of the word is stated to be *tzibalba*, which means *painted mole*. Dr. Brinton regards Xibalba as the "common term throughout the Maya stock of languages to denote the abode of the spirits of the dead, or Hades, which with them was held to be under the surface of the earth" (p. 26).

The Books of Chilán Balam.¹⁷

Folk-Lore of Yucatan.¹⁸

Maya Chronicles.¹⁹

Codex Troano.²⁰

As already remarked, the Mayas of Yucatan ranked high in American civilization at the time of the conquest.²¹ The destruction of their literature, in 1562, by order of Bishop Lando was keenly felt by the natives. A few books escaped the general conflagration. The principal books now consist of those under the name of "Chilán Balam" which are a reproduction of the symbols and characters of the ancient books, made at the time of the conquest and placed in the different villages. They relate principally to ancient chronology, astrology, prophecy, medicine, and later Christian teachings. Their chief value consists in chronology and an exhibition of native thought. Some of the prophecies are of a striking character. At the

¹⁷ *The Books of Chilán Balam, the Prophetic and Historic Records of the Mayas of Yucatan.* By Daniel G. Brinton, M.D. Philadelphia. 1882.

¹⁸ *The Folk-Lore of Yucatan.* By Daniel G. Brinton, M.D. 1883.

¹⁹ *Library of Aboriginal American Literature.* No. I. *The Maya Chronicles.* Edited by Daniel G. Brinton, M.D. Philadelphia. 1882.

²⁰ *Contributions to North American Ethnology.* Vol. V. Part III. *A Study of the Manuscript Troano.* By Cyrus Thomas, Ph.D. With an Introduction by D. G. Brinton, M.D. Washington, 1881.

²¹ For a fuller account see QUARTERLY for Oct. 1883.

close of each of their larger divisions of time, a *chilan*, or inspired diviner, predicted the character of the epoch about to begin. In the year 1480 the *chilan* prophesied:

"What time the sun shall brightest shine,
Tearful will be the eyes of the king.
Four ages²² yet shall be inscribed,
Then shall come the holy priest, the holy god.
With grief I speak what now I see.
Watch well the road, ye dwellers in Itza,
The master of the earth shall come to us."

In the original this prophecy of Nahau Pech, is written in short, aphoristic sentences. Their prophecies generally foreboded evil, which appeared suited to the temper of the people. None could have conceived the dire event which finally overtook them.

Their calendars consisted of the year being divided into eighteen months, of twenty days each, with five intercalated days, each accompanied by its appropriate sign. Dr. Thomas considers the Codex Troano to be a calendar of the same character with the books of Chilán Balam.

Their folk-lore bears a strong resemblance to that of other American nations. The subject has not yet been well investigated, for the natives have a great hesitancy in imparting any of their superstitions, having learned to be cautious on account of religious persecutions by their masters.

THE GÜEGÜENCE.²³

A map of Central America would exhibit a very narrow strip of land between Lake Nicaragua and the Pacific Ocean. On this strip of land embracing an area one hundred miles long by twenty-five broad, lived the Nahuas of Nicaragua, speaking the same language, having the same mythology, religious rules, calendars, manners and customs as the Aztecs, although removed a distance of more than two thousand miles,²⁴ and "separated by numerous powerful nations, speaking a

²² A katun is a period of 20 years, making 80 years.

²³ *Aboriginal American Literature*. No. III. *The Güegüence; a comedy ballet in the Nahuatl-Spanish dialect of Nicaragua*. Edited by Daniel G. Brinton, A.M., M.D. Philadelphia. 1883.

²⁴ While this may appear singular, yet the same occurs in Europe. The Basques of the Pyrenees are related to the Albanians, Turins and Scandinavians, although widely separated. See Prichard's *Celtic Nations*, p. 51.

different language, and having a distinct organization.”²⁵ To the north and south of them were the Mangués who had been split into by the early migrations of the Nahuas. Squier says, “In most places, however, the native language has fallen into disuse, or only a few words, which have also been accepted by the whites, are retained.”²⁶ On the island of Ometepe, Squier “procured with great difficulty a few words, and some of their numerals.”²⁷ Dr. Habel says, “Notwithstanding the greatest efforts, I could not get any information in regard to the language of the natives; they told me it was all forgotten.”²⁸

On coming in contact with the Spaniards a mixed dialect came into vogue, composed of a corrupt Spanish and a broken down Nahuatl, which served as a means of communication between both races. It has been described as an unintelligible jargon. Many of its Spanish elements are ungrammatical, while the interlarded Nahuatl words and phrases are so mutilated as to be scarcely recognizable.

The Indians of this district were passionately fond of dramatic representations, accompanied by masked actors, dances and songs, and various musical instruments. These took place at certain seasons and epochs of the year, and were generally of a religious character. The music was monotonous, the singing in the minor key, and the motions dull, mechanical, and ungraceful.

The play known as *The Güegüence* is the only specimen now known of native American comedy.²⁹ It is of comparatively recent origin, and is composed in the jargon already described. *Güegüence* is a Nahuatl word, from the root *hue*, old; *huehue* is “old man”; to this is added *tzin*, denoting

²⁵ Squiers' *States of Central America*, p. 317.

²⁶ *The States of Central America*, p. 319.

²⁷ *Nicaragua*, Vol. II. p. 13. Dr. Bransford's statement (*Archaeological Researches in Nicaragua*, pp. 7, 79) that “Squier found many words of the Aztec language spoken by the Indians of Ometepe,” is rather stronger than Squier's words will allow.

²⁸ *Sculptures of Santa Lucia Cosumahuapa in Guatemala*, p. 24.

²⁹ The comedies of Bartholomede Alva, written in Nahuatl, about 1625, drew their plots from Lope de Vega. Alva was a descendant of the native king of Tezucuo.

reverence or affection ; and in the vocative the word becomes *huehuentze*, meaning, therefore, " the honored elder," or " the dear old man." This comedy has not been given of late years. It was sometimes performed at the festival of St. Jerome, Sept. 30. The preparations for it were expensive and elaborate. The rehearsals were given daily, consuming from a period of six to eight months before the public performance.

Of the *dramatis personæ* Güegüence is the principal figure, who wore the most magnificent apparel of any of the performers, although all were gorgeously dressed. His character is a marked type of that peculiar form of humor preferred by the native mind. It was, however, anything but respectable. His indifference to truth, impudence, unscrupulous tricks, and low jokes detract materially from the element of the comical to those accustomed to a better class of comedy. His two sons, Don Forcico and Don Ambrosio, present the opposites of character. The former follows the example of his father ; the latter opposes and exposes their dishonesty. Governor Tastuanes appears in Spanish costume ; his character being designed to bring out the ruses of Güegüence. The Aguacil, Secretary and Registrar appear in full official dress, with the insignia of office. The *mutæ personæ* consist of the women and a dozen mules.

Dr. Brinton has given the comedy in the original, with an English translation, followed by valuable notes and a glossary, and preceded by a lengthy introduction.

The attempt is not here made to give all of Dr. Brinton's productions, but only some of his recent works bearing on the development of a department of ethnology that must attract more attention and awaken an intelligent interest.

Rev. J. P. MacLean.

ARTICLE XXIX.

Does Civilization Civilize?

THE book entitled "Progress and Poverty," by Henry George, is a remarkable contribution to social and economic science. It assumes to deal not only with the vexed questions of political science, but with the profoundest problems that lie at the foundation of human society. It is said to have had a wide circulation, not only in our own country, but in England and on the continent. Its remarkable character consists chiefly in its positive tone, and in the certainty that the convictions of the writer, as set forth in the pages of his book, are indisputable truths. To this may be added the extraordinary nature of the assumptions made, and the strange conclusions drawn from unwarranted premises.

There is no reason to doubt the earnestness and sincerity of the writer of this book. It manifests itself upon every page. Nor is there any reason to doubt that his main purpose is a philanthropic one, or to question the genuineness of his sympathy with the masses whose welfare he claims to seek.

Mr. George is a man who has the courage of his convictions. He claims no special consideration except the justice of his cause, and the respect due to the essential merits of his performance. He feels confident of his ground, and challenges criticism to overthrow the structure he has reared upon it. He wields an incisive pen, and his clear and forcible style rarely lays him open to the charge of obscurity or dullness. When he misses his mark his error comes not so much from any defect in his reasoning as from the assumption of unsound premises, or from the omission of some of the essential factors in the problem he attempts to solve.

Whatever may be said of the certainty of the teachings of political science—called by Mr. Carlyle the "dismal science"—no one who knows anything of its scope or its elements, doubts its complexity. But Mr. George cuts his way through this difficulty that lies at the threshold of his inquiry in the following manner:

“Political economy is not a set of dogmas. It is the explanation of a certain set of facts. It lays its foundations upon firm ground. The premises from which it makes its deductions are truths which have the highest sanction ; upon which we safely base the reasoning and actions of every-day life, and which may be reduced to the metaphysical expression of the physical law — that motion seeks the line of least resistance, viz., that men seek to gratify their desires with the least exertion. Proceeding from a basis thus assured, its processes, which consist simply in identification and separation, have the same certainty. In this sense it is as exact a science as geometry, which, from similar truths relative to space, obtains its conclusions by similar means, and its conclusions when valid should be as self-apparent.”

Mr. George fails to see that his saving clause — “when valid” — overthrows the assumption which he makes in this definition of political economy. The conclusions of geometry are *always valid* because the experience of ages has shown them to be invariable. For this reason it is not equally true that “matter seeks the line of least resistance,” and that “men seek to gratify their desires with the least exertion.” The first is fixed by unalterable conditions of physical law ; a body moves in the line of least resistance because it must. But men do not always seek to gratify their desires with the least exertion. They may, and often do, take a freak to work harder than necessity requires, both mentally and physically, in the accomplishment of their desires. Men highly endowed with mental or physical energy are prodigal of their strength. This is especially true of young men. The distinction lies here : One is an invariable law of matter, the other is the outcome of man’s will subject to the uncertainty of human volition. It is this *human* element in the workings of economic laws, that vitiates much of the reasoning of these political economists who do not give full play to this important factor, or ignore its existence altogether. This factor is a variable one ; and so uncertain are its movements that in this branch of investigation, more frequently than anywhere else, perhaps, the saving clause so often used by the logician has a place,—*other things being equal*. But here, as in other cases

where this saving clause is used, other things rarely are equal ; or, what amounts to the same thing, we do not *know* that they are equal. On this point the high authority, John Stuart Mill, so often cited by Mr. George, says :

“ Political Economy concerns itself only with such of the phenomena of the social state as take place in consequence of the pursuit of wealth. It makes entire abstraction of every other human passion or motive, except those which may be regarded as perpetually antagonizing principles to the desire of wealth, namely, the aversion to labor, and of the present enjoyment of costly indulgences. These it takes to a certain extent into its calculations, because these do not merely, like our other desires, occasionally conflict with the pursuit of wealth, but accompany it always as a drag or impediment, and are, therefore, inseparably mixed up in the consideration of it. . . . All these operations, though many of them are really the result of a plurality of motives, are considered by political economy as flowing from the desire of wealth. The science then proceeds to investigate the laws which govern these several operations, under the supposition that man is a being who is determined, by the necessity of his nature, to prefer a greater portion of wealth to a smaller in all cases, without any other exception than that constituted by the two counter-motives already specified.

“ Not that any political economist was ever so absurd as to suppose that men are really thus constituted, but because this is the mode in which science must necessarily proceed. . . . The political economist inquires what are the actions which would be produced by this desire, if, within the department in question, it were unimpeded by any other. In this way a nearer approximation is obtained than would otherwise be practicable to the real order of human affairs in those departments. This approximation has then to be corrected by making proper allowance for the effects of any impulses of a different description, which can be shown to interfere with the result in any particular case. . . . In political economy, for instance, empirical laws of human nature are tacitly assumed by English thinkers, which are calculated only for Great Britain and the United States. Among other things, an intensity of competition is constantly supposed which, as a general mercantile fact, exists in no country in the world except those two. An English political economist, like his countrymen in general, has seldom learned that it is possible that men, in

conducting the business of selling their goods over a counter, should care more about their ease or their vanity than about their pecuniary gain. Yet those who know the habits of the continent of Europe are aware how apparently small a motive often outweighs the desire of money-getting, even in the operations which have money-getting for their direct object."

The distinctions here made, and the complexity of the phenomena to be dealt with in questions of economic science, here so clearly set forth by this great authority, do not seem to be recognized by Mr. George, or if recognized in theory, are ignored in effect. Though he is very emphatic in laying down the law to be observed in the use of terms, and makes just complaint against those writers who use "terms in different senses," after warning their readers against "just this thing," he adds his own example to the list of those who ignore the guide-posts they have set up. As an illustration of this, take the first question he raises at the outset of his inquiry. "Why," says he, "in spite of increase in productive power, do wages tend to a minimum which will give but a bare living?"

He here assumes the main point to be proved in the use of the phrase, "a bare living." Let us now inquire what this phrase means, and what it is capable of meaning; and let us find out if we can the precise sense in which Mr. George uses it. In his first sentence he uses what is intended as an equivalent expression, "the lowest amount on which laborers will consent to live and reproduce." This means, of course, that amount of wages below which the laborer cannot be forced except at the risk of rebellion.

Let us see what soundness there is in this position. Let us take the half century from 1830 to 1880, to show the relation between "progress and poverty." Who that has watched the movements of society during these years does not know that the "bare living" of the laboring classes in 1830 was a very different thing from the "living" of the same classes in 1880? This is true in every country, but especially true in our own country. Fifty years ago what was included under the head of a living? It then meant only the commonest

necessaries of life and often a scant supply of those, — coarse bread, meat of inferior quality, and that but seldom in many cases, poor clothing from the cheapest fabrics, often renewed with patches until it lost its identity, and for shelter, houses that had none of the comforts and conveniences of modern tenements in their construction or appointments, and supplied with only the scantiest furniture, with walls unadorned and floors uncarpeted. Look at the “living” of these same classes to-day in our country. Bread of the first quality of flour, meat in variety and abundance, clothing so tasteful and elegant that it is hardly possible to distinguish between the rich and poor by the dress they wear, houses,—many of them owned by mechanics and farmers — ample and commodious, adorned with pictures and furnished with all the contrivances that the ingenuity of our age so cheaply supplies.

With the value of this factor shading off indefinitely into something that represents a sum total at the end of the half century, immensely greater in degree and widely different in quality from what it stood for at the beginning of this period, it will be seen that the question put by Mr. George as a fundamental one in his theory, has no scientific exactness, because based upon an assumption which the facts of social progress overthrow. We shall see when we reach this point of our inquiry, that in this matter of “a living” is seen the working of the human factor which he drops out of sight, when he gives it a fixed and unchanging value. We shall also see what becomes of the vast productions of modern industry which manifest themselves in harvests whose increase is in far greater ratio than that of population, and in manufactured products ten fold more abundant. We shall see that under the law of distribution this vastly increased production is spread among all classes, from the highest to the lowest, making the “living” of the poor as well as the rich more ample, as year by year adds new comforts for the use of man.

If it is said that these examples showing the progress of modern times are only found in those countries or sections most highly favored by circumstances, the answer is that the

law of progress here indicated is no less clearly seen wherever the improvement of society manifests itself in a lower degree. The ameliorating forces that are slowly lifting the burdens from the poor and the unfortunate, move with unequal power and at a varying rate of motion ; here hindered by a denser ignorance and prejudices that come from unfavorable conditions, and there retarded by a superstitious regard for old institutions that fears to remove the landmarks the past has set up. Wherever these forces are at work this law shows itself : and it is well nigh impossible to conceive that they could operate discriminately in favor of the rich and against the poor, as Mr. George asserts. Consistently with these facts we shall find that this higher plane of living carries with it higher wages for the laboring man ; meaning by this a greater purchasing power over the commodities he consumes ; and this statistics clearly prove. If this is true, the assumption made by Mr. George is a fallacious one. There is a connection between " wages " and a " living," but not such a one as is indicated by the formula he sets up. The connection is an elastic one, subject to the various modifications of the human element or " personal equation " at work as chief factor in the problem.

What are the wages of the laboring man ? They are the price he gets for the commodity he has to sell — his labor. There is no express or implied understanding that these wages shall be just sufficient, to use an old Saxon idiom, to keep body and soul together. Nobody thinks of this when he contracts for labor, and there is no subtle law of social economics that determines such a relation between the buyer of labor and those who have it to sell. The price of labor is determined by the same law of supply and demand that governs the traffic in all other commodities.

Against this view it is sometimes urged that there is oftener a glut in the labor market than in the commodity market. But this position cannot be maintained. The same law governs both. As all wealth and capital in every form is created by labor — except that small fraction called natural wealth —

there is the same relation between the commodity labor and the capital created by labor, as there is between any other commodity, also created by labor, and the wealth or capital seeking to buy that commodity. The seeming, but not real exceptions to this law, arise from the fact that labor is a commodity of a peculiar kind, requiring a longer time to adjust disturbances affecting its demand. To illustrate this point: The overthrow of old industries consequent upon the introduction of new inventions in weaving and spinning in England near the close of the last century, caused such a sudden displacement of labor as required a longer time to adjust itself to new conditions; but the adjustment began at once, and continued until the equilibrium between supply and demand was restored. The adjustment of disturbances such as these usually occur in two ways; first, as a temporary expedient, by the dispersion of the surplus labor to those localities where it is in greater demand; and, second, by the expansion of those industries which more effective machinery always causes by cheapening production. This cheapening of the commodity opens up new markets for its consumption, and both capital and labor find an enlarged field for employment.

Assuming, then, what no one denies, the immensely increased production of recent years, how is its consumption to be accounted for except upon the supposition that the masses are greater consumers? For let it be borne in mind that this increase, even of the agricultural staples, far outstrips the growth of population; and the increase of manufactured products is enormously greater. The wealthier classes alone cannot consume this vast product, and the remainder is not wasted. And this logic of common sense finds itself supported by the most unmistakable evidence of experience. Vast industries have grown up whose products are consumed chiefly by the middle and lower classes. Various articles of food that were out of the reach of the masses in the early years of the century are now daily seen upon their table. Statistics in every department of trade prove this beyond fear of cavil.

It seems clear, then, that increasing production, under the inevitable laws of distribution, must give an increasing amount of the world's wealth as the share of the laboring man. This is the key to the whole problem; a solution of the imaginary riddle which Mr. George fancies the Sphinx of Fate is calling upon the world to solve. Otherwise the enigma for solution is one ten-fold more difficult. Will Mr. George tell us what becomes of the vastly increased production of recent years, of just those commodities the working classes eat, drink and wear, and which have replaced hovels and cabins with better means of shelter, if they are not distributed among these classes? A large part of this is perishable, and must be used or wasted. Do the rich alone consume the increased products of our mills and factories, and gorge themselves with the augmented yield of farm and garden? Or, if wasted, would the increased production go on year by year? There is but one answer to these questions consistent with arithmetic, experience and common sense.

If this position is sound, what becomes of the assumption that "progress and poverty" go hand in hand? Yet on this point Mr. George sets forth his views in the following language:

"It is true that wealth has been increased and that the average of comfort, leisure and refinement has been raised; but these gains are not general. In them the lowest class do not share. I do not mean that the condition of the lowest class has nowhere nor in anything been improved; but that there is nowhere any improvement which can be credited to increased productive power."

It will be seen by this extract that Mr. George admits that the lowest classes share in the general improvement, but that the improvement is not to be "credited to increased productive power." Foreseeing how fatal to his argument this admission would be, he attempts to break its force by the following note, which he puts in the margin:

"It is true that the poorest may now in certain ways enjoy what the richest a century ago could not have commanded; but this does not show improvement of condition so long as

the ability to obtain the necessities of life is not increased. The beggar in a great city may enjoy many things from which the backwoods farmer is debarred ; but this does not prove the condition of the city beggar better than that of the independent farmer."

Will Mr. George tell us how it is possible that the poorest of to-day enjoy what the "rich could not command a century ago," if their condition is not improved ? It may not prove that the beggar is better off than the independent farmer ; but it *may* and often *does* prove that he would rather be a beggar and taste the luxuries of a wealthy city, than subject himself to the hard work and deprivations of the poor but independent tiller of the soil.

Here again we see the "personal equation" at work complicating the questions that lie at the basis of economic science. The beggar, if he knew his own interests, would put himself by the side of the "independent farmer ;" but perhaps he is too lazy to work ; perhaps he does not like a country life ; perhaps he has a dozen reasons that induce him to lead the life of a city beggar, with its occasional taste of luxury, but with want staring him ever in the face.

It is difficult to tell just what the writer of these sentences means. How the *average* of "comfort, leisure and refinement" could be raised, and yet these gains not be general ; how, if the lowest class do not share in these gains, they can be improved anywhere or in anything, and yet this improvement not be due to increased production, is a riddle that the Sphinx of Fate, which Mr. George invokes, would find more difficult to answer than the problem she has given to modern civilization to solve. But what does he mean by the lowest class ? Evidently not beggars, not paupers, or any of the classes who subsist by charity, or those who, by their misfortunes or their vices have no means of earning a livelihood. He means the industrious classes ; those who earn their bread except in those seasons when no work can be obtained. In other words those classes who are usually in receipt of wages. Now these are just the classes to whom a "bare living" means

a much better living than their fathers and grandfathers got thirty or fifty years ago. If this is true then the main indictment that Mr. George brings against modern civilization in the question he asks, falls to the ground. This is brought out in a clearer light if we take his own lucid definition of wealth and the agencies employed in its accumulation. He tells us that the wealth of the world does not consist chiefly, as many suppose, in these tangible forms which we see before our eyes — its palaces and costly mansions, its warehouses, its factories, its fleets of vessels, its railroads, its machinery, or in any of their visible adjuncts; but that the world's riches consist in what is annually produced and annually consumed, — the crops gathered from the soil, and the innumerable products which the industry and ingenuity of man create from them. That this vast annual production is now more equitably distributed than in former times, can be shown in various ways. Before cheap and rapid communication was established it was impossible to equalize the distribution of crops as is now easily done. If famine prevailed in one section, the difficulty and cost of transportation from a region of plenty to one of scarcity was too great to make relief available. This aggravated the poverty of the poorer classes occasioned by deficient harvests. The want and suffering from this cause have sensibly diminished during the last fifty years.

If this vast increase of wealth which we see in the annual production of the world's industry finds a market, it must be among the masses of mankind; as they constitute the bulk of consumers. In view, then, of Mr. George's definition of wealth, if this wealth is annually distributed among the people, what becomes of his argument that the poorer classes do not share the increase? His error seems to arise from confounding two essentially different things, — that portion of the annual production that is laid by as margins by the thrifty and saving classes, and that portion that is annually consumed. The portion laid by as margins, though comparatively very small, makes a great show. It is seen in houses and factories, in warerooms and stocks, in the returns of savings banks,

and in every form in which wealth shows itself with more or less ostentation. Though each year adds but little comparatively to this pile, it is constantly increasing, and that, too, in a greater ratio as the annual production increases. A man may get a very liberal share of the annual production in the shape of high wages, that will give him a wide command over the comforts and many of the luxuries of life, and at the end of thirty years have nothing to show as savings laid by for future need; but in the meantime he has had a large share of the world's wealth. If in his old age he must subsist on charity, he has no indictment to bring against modern civilization. He cannot say, "Look at me, I am a victim of the unequal distribution of earth's goods."

A little reflection will show that it is the human element that is at work as chief factor in the process of accumulation. It will also show that men may have and dispose of a large share of the wealth annually created, and at the end of a lifetime leave their families penniless, or before that time find themselves reduced to poverty as their power diminishes to command a high reward for their service.

To illustrate this point: Here is a first class mechanic whose wages, we will say, average twenty dollars a week. He has no family to support, and he lives until he is sixty years of age. He spends his annual income, and at the age of fifty has not a dollar to show for thirty years of toil. His ability to labor grows less as old age approaches, and he lives the last ten years of his life in comparative poverty. If his case adds one more to swell the ranks of the poorer or pauper classes, does it furnish grounds for an indictment against modern civilization, or show in any way that a "wedge has been driven" — to use Mr. George's figure — "between the upper and lower classes," and that this man was on the under side? Suppose, on the other hand, that he had lived on ten dollars a week, and had laid up half his earnings. At the end of thirty years he would have had upwards of seven thousand dollars and accrued interest. Which side of the wedge would he have occupied then?

Here is another mechanic, less skillful, whose average earnings do not exceed fifteen dollars a week. On this sum he supports a family, and at the age of fifty has three thousand dollars to show for thirty years of industry and economy. He is clearly on the upper side of the wedge ; but less of the world's wealth has been distributed to him than to the first man. Still he has got *more* than a "bare living," and the other *only* a "bare living," according to Mr. George's theory, and this only while his capacity to earn high wages was unimpaired. Cases like these show the fallacy of the "bare living" theory. It shows that it may mean one thing or another, as circumstances may determine ; and its main significance is seen in the fact that the human element of man's volition is the chief factor in the various problems that arise in that branch of inquiry which we call political economy.

The chief mistake of Mr. George is in supposing that there is any such enigma as he has set himself to solve. He assumes that the poverty of the lower classes is increasing, when exactly the opposite is true. He assumes that pauperism is gaining with advancing wealth, when facts and figures clearly demonstrate the contrary. Let us look at a few of the facts. In 1815 the number of paupers maintained out of the poor rates in London, was 106,000. In 1875, the number was about the same, with a population *three fold greater*. But this is not the chief gain. The cost of maintaining these 100,000 paupers was *five* times as great in 1875 as the cost of a similar number in 1815 ; a fact showing that this unfortunate class shared an increase of the comforts of life in common with other classes of society ; or, in other words, that even these dependents upon charity have a larger share of the wealth annually created, and are so far lifted above the extreme destitution that was the lot of the English pauper sixty years before. High authority assures us that in 1870 but five-eighths of the amount of labor was required in Great Britain to purchase a bushel of wheat, that was necessary in 1840 to buy the same quantity. These facts are but a type of what is occurring all over the civilized world, and they completely overthrow the

assumption that the benefits of increasing wealth do not reach all grades of society.

The writer of "Progress and Poverty" seems to be shriveled by a pessimistic philosophy which ignores the most obtrusive facts of social science. These facts are, that the poorer classes, from the lowest among them through all their grades, beginning with the most abject beggar in the streets, and including every class of unfortunates, the vicious, the criminal, the idiotic, and the children of misfortune wherever found, have all felt the uplifting influence of those mighty industrial forces of modern times, which, in augmenting the wealth of the world, have put a lever into the hand of every agency that has for its purpose the amelioration of human suffering.

This is not to be settled by a few statistics gathered here and there, though an abundance of this kind of evidence is found in the archives of every government, and in the records of numerous societies. The evidence is monumental in its character, and forms an essential part of modern history. It is found in every book of travel that contrasts the present condition of the poorer classes with their condition fifty years ago. It is to be read in the sanitary reports of our cities, and in the records of the home missionary. It is brought to light in the testimony of merchants whose business is in the purview of the centres of trade and population. It is seen in the dwellings of the poor, whose habitations, humble though they be, show signs of comfort and cleanliness which the grandfathers of the present generation never knew. It is seen in the building up of great industries whose products find a market chiefly among the working men and women of every land — products unknown or but rarely seen fifty, or even thirty, years ago. And yet in the face of all this, Mr. George torments his fancy with this doleful picture :

"This association of poverty with progress is the great enigma of our times. It is the central fact from which spring industrial, social and political difficulties that perplex the world, and with which statesmanship and philanthropy and education grapple in vain. From it come the clouds that overhang the future of the most progressive and self-reliant na-

tions. It is the riddle which the Sphinx of Fate puts to our civilization, and which not to answer is to be destroyed. So long as all the increased wealth which modern progress brings goes but to build great fortunes, to increase luxury and make sharper the contrasts between the House of Have and the House of Want, progress is not real and cannot be permanent. The reaction must come. The tower leans on its foundations, and every new story but hastens the final catastrophe."

In support of groundless assumptions like these, Mr. George employs a wealth of illustration and the glitter of a delusive rhetoric. To the careful reader who cares more for the sense of a passage than for figures of speech or brilliant aphorisms, the indiscriminating use of some of these illustrations, and the irrelevant conclusions they are made to reach, will appear to be the most extraordinary features of this book. To illustrate this point, the writer wants to show in particular that as population increases wages decrease, and more generally that this is owing to land monopoly. To show this he says:

"From the river banks and bars the glittering deposits of thousands of years could be taken by the most primitive appliances, in amounts which made an ounce a day (\$16) only ordinary wages."

An old Californian would smile at the sum here named as "ordinary wages," and would be likely to remark that one-eighth that amount would more nearly express the true figure; and if he understood the rudiments of monetary science, he would ask, what does it prove, even if true, unless we know the value of the dollar in purchasing commodities? If everything the miner used was four times the average price (as was approximately the fact), as a necessary consequence of the situation, are not his wages \$4 per day, rather than \$16? and if this "ounce a day" averaged but three ounces a week, would not his real wages be two dollars a day rather than four? It is hardly necessary to say that the nominal rate of wages settles nothing except this; that whenever that rate is high the price of commodities is correspondingly high, for the simple reason that these commodities are produced by the

same high priced labor, or come within the reach of influences such as scarcity, or excessive cost of transportation, that make the price of labor high. When Mr. George tells us that it was the discovery of the placer mines in unappropriated lands, that raised the wages of cooks in San Francisco in 1849, to \$500 a month, we have a specimen of economic philosophy that makes his book one of the most remarkable that has lately appeared. Had he said that this was merely a mining craze, a lottery in which there were nine blanks to one prize, he would have written upon this point to some purpose. Had he further said that this fever point of the craze lasted but a few months, and was no more a criterion of the average wages of the miner, even during the first few years of the gold excitement, than the prizes in a lottery indicate the average gains of the ticket-holders, he would have told us what every California miner now living and many others know. And still further, as he persists in calling these lucky "finds" the miner's "wages," he would have done some real service in dispelling a popular delusion, had he gathered the facts as far as possible showing what the average wages of the miners were during the first five or ten years following the gold discovery. If it should be found that the uncertainties of the business were such that miners, as a class, did not earn even ordinary wages, what becomes of Mr. George's theory that the miners' access to "unappropriated lands" was the explanation of their high wages?

The writer of this paper has seen a statement, published some twenty years ago, which went to show that the earnings of the gold diggers during the first years of the gold discovery in California did not average a dollar a day; and ex-Senator Stewart has recently put it at a lower figure. That this is a very probable estimate is corroborated by the opinion of some of the most intelligent of old miners in answer to the writer's inquiries on this point. One of the grounds on which they reached these conclusions was, that so much time was spent in prospecting for new diggings that promised better returns than the old, that but little was left for actual labor. One

question to a lady whose husband spent some three or four years in the diggings, brought the answer that the highest wages earned by him in any one day was twelve dollars, worth about twenty-five cents each. If Mr. George should extend his investigations in this direction, he would find that the somewhat current notion that wages are higher in new countries, and especially in mining regions, is one of the popular errors that confound nominal wages with real wages, and take no account of the abnormal state of society in which the cost of living bears a necessary approximation to the earnings of labor; and he would also find, should he get the testimony of "forty-niners," that all the dwellers on "unappropriated lands" are not exempt from the miseries of want and the danger of starvation unless relieved by charity. They would tell him that the numbers straggling from camp to camp "dead broke," would bear a greater proportion to the whole population of the region, than do the multitudes of the wretched poor in our great cities.

The evils of poverty are great and abiding; and nothing is gained either by exaggerating their importance or ignoring their existence. But one who is neither an optimist nor a pessimist can hardly fail to see that the combined sweep of the various forces of society, industrial and moral, including in this last term both educational and religious influences is carrying the world up to a higher plane; and that these forces must work concretely upon the whole mass of humanity, and not invidiously against any class. One who has watched the unfolding of social phenomena, has seen how indivisible are human interests, and how the threads of a common purpose run through all the movements men make to advance their own or others' interests, and unite to weave a bond that mutually secures and protects the common good.

David N. Johnson.

ARTICLE XXX.

The Name of God Revealed to Moses.

IF a definite, correct and even critical idea of God is not absolutely necessary to the ordinary worshipper, it certainly is so to the professed theologian, and above all to a theological system. When we have, therefore, a Name of God which has received the divine sanction, and as such has been revealed to man—a Name which is believed by most critics, when properly interpreted, to express the essential nature of the Deity,—it would seem that no subject is worthy of a more careful, critical study than such Name. But few subjects, in fact, have ever received more earnest attention from Biblical scholars than the Divine Name revealed to Moses; and there is hardly a theological journal of the higher class, which does not contain many a learned paper devoted to the study of this title of Divinity. For ourselves the more thoroughly we have investigated this subject the more profound has grown our interest in it, till we have become convinced, finally, that the Name of God revealed to Moses, properly interpreted, constitutes the basis of all true theism. We regret to say, however, that the views which we have been compelled to adopt respecting the actual import of this name are different fundamentally from those usually held by critics. It is in the belief that these views are worthy at least of a careful consideration, that we undertake to embody them in the present article.

To attempt the interpretation of a Divine Name, supposed to express the essential nature of the Deity, without the guidance of any philosophical principles, would not be likely to conduct to any very valuable results; and indeed, it is the general prevalence of certain psychological or philosophical errors, as we think, that has rendered it impossible to arrive at a true interpretation of this revealed Name. Our object will be, then, preliminary to the study of the Name itself, to lay down the philosophical principles which will guide us in our interpretation of it.

I. *The so-called Pure-being of the philosophers.* I commence with one of the most simple and familiar facts of experience. An object is before me. It is *a rose*. This rose is *red*, is *fragrant*, is *beautiful*, etc. That which is here affirmed is the simple existence of the rose, and of its various, specific qualities. Otherwise stated, this rose *is*, and each of its qualities *is*. The same may be said, and with equal truth, of any other object, of every conceivable real object, in the universe — *it is*, and each of its qualities *is*.

That which is here affirmed of the object, as expressed by the phrase *it is*, constitutes the primary act in its cognition ; it is the act of *sensation*, so-called, or of sensuous *intuition*. The term *is*, in the phrase *it is*, expresses the notion of simple, abstract *Being* ; it is the *Pure-being*, so-termed of the philosophers. We proceed to the investigation now of some of the chief characteristics of pure-being, as it reveals itself especially in *sensation*.

(a) That which is here termed pure-being, and which manifests itself through the senses, is not anything imaginary nor hypothetical ; it is something real, actual. If the object itself is a reality, — and it is with such only that we are supposed to deal — then the pure-being also, which is affirmed of it, is real. It is just as real as the object, for it is the reality of the object, or the fact that *it is*, which constitutes its pure-being. Indeed, without pure-being, without the fact that it is, the object itself is a pure naught ; it has no real existence. To say that the object *is*, is to say that it *has being*, that it *has Pure-being* ; for such is the meaning of the term *is*. Nor is this pure-being merely the same thing as the object. Although inseparably connected with it, the pure-being affirmed of the object is something more general, since it may be affirmed of all objects alike ; and being thus more general, it is for this reason something different from the object.

(b) The pure-being predicated of any given object, in saying that it is, appertains to the object itself ; it is not a product of the mind or *Ego* (the *I*) ; it is not a projection of the mind or *Ego* into the object. The fact that the object is or has be-

ing, is prior to the act of its cognition ; hence the mind or *Ego* merely recognizes this fact ; it does not create it, nor in any sense give rise to it. The *here* and *now* (space and time) in which an object appears, are no part of the object itself, nor of its pure-being. To say that an object is, is to make a universal statement, since the same is true of all existent realities. But to say that an object is here and now, is to limit the previous universal statement to a singular, individual one ; for only a single, individual object can possibly exist in the same here and now. These two statements, then, are widely distinguished from each other. The first, the universal statement, only, concerns the fact that the object is, and this constitutes the primary act of its cognition.

(c) The term *is*, in the phrase *it is*, although it relates to something existing in the present tense, has not, as here used, merely a temporal signification as opposed to the *was* and *is to be* (past and future) ; but it relates especially to that which *is* as opposed to the *is not* ; to being as opposed to non-being ; to naught. To fail to make this distinction is to confound pure-being with time. Pure-being comprehends both time and space, for time is and space is ; that is to say, Pure-being expressed by the term *is*, is common to both ; it is thus more general than either, and hence cannot be confounded with either of them. But that which *was* was *then* the *present*, and that which *is to be* will then be the present, and in either case opposed to the *is-not* or non-being. In other words, substantive pure-being includes in itself all the tenses ; it is that which was, and is, and is to be.

(d) Although the object itself is something concrete, that is, has specific qualities, the pure-being affirmed of it is wholly abstract ; it is devoid of all qualities, of all qualitative differences and distinctions. The object is, simply ; it has not this or that particular being, but merely *being*. This is the full extent of our affirmation, in the primary act of cognition. The notion affirmed is a pure simple, it is being, without any contents or qualities ; it is wholly empty, wholly abstract.

(e) The pure-being predicated of any given object is *abso-*

lutely universal in the sense that it appertains alike to every other object, to all possible realities. Not anything can exist, whether infinite or finite, spiritual or material, of which it may not be said that it is, or has being. In so far, then, pure being is absolutely universal.

(f) The pure-being of one object is the *same identical pure being of all*. It is not something different with different objects. That alone which could render it different in one object from itself in another, must be some quality distinguishing it in one from itself in another. But it is devoid of all qualities, of all qualitative differences and distinctions, being wholly abstract. If, then, pure being has nothing to distinguish itself in one object from itself in another, it must be the same identical pure being in all. Not only this, the notion of pure being is expressed by one and the same term, *is*, in every possible instance of its affirmation, which could not be the case if it was something different in different objects. Thus, pure being is not only universal, as shown under (e), but it is precisely the same pure being, *always equal to and identical with itself, throughout the universe*.

(g) Since pure being is wholly abstract, it cannot reveal itself to the senses, except in connection with some material object, which is, and has being. On the other hand, while pure being thus depends on material objects to reveal itself to the senses, it is itself wholly *immaterial*, is a pure spirituality, and this for the reason that it is wholly abstract.

We have now developed the chief characteristics of pure being as it reveals itself in sensations. As such it presents itself as a *universal, spiritual reality, wholly devoid of qualities, and everywhere equal to and identical with itself*. But pure being reveals itself not only in sensation, but in various other mental operations or processes, among which we note briefly that —

1st. *In Explanation or Subsumption, so-termed*. To explain an object, we refer it to or subsume it under a higher category or class. Take here an illustration: What is this object before me? It is, we will suppose, a horse. What, then, is a

horse? It is an animal. But what is an animal? It is an organized being. Then what is an organized being? Here the notion becomes more general and more abstract at each ascending stage of the process, till the absolutely universal and the wholly abstract is reached, which is pure being itself. Finally the question arises, What is pure being? No higher category can exist than pure being, for this is wholly abstract and is absolutely universal, and nothing can be more so. The notion at this stage, then, must be referred to its own category; and to the last inquiry above we reply: Pure being is pure being; or Being is Being. That is to say, the notion admits of no further explanation, since its category is that in which the subject and predicate are the same. Pure being shows itself here again as the absolutely self-identical, *i.e.*, Being — Being, is the same as Being. This is the Ultimate Ground and the final explanation of all things. No higher, more abstract, more universal category can be thought.

2d. *In Definitions.* The process of definition is the exact opposite of explanation or subsumption. To define an object we must add to its most general and abstract notion the various qualities that characterize it. Thus, retaining the same example, we inquire again, What is a horse? It is pure being. This is its most general and abstract notion, but it is applicable alike to all objects, and thus is a proper definition of none. The horse, then, is pure being plus an organized being, plus an animal, plus a quadruped with solid hoofs. Such is the descending process, on the lowest stage of which we arrive at a definition of the object. In both processes, as will be seen, the notion of pure being is absolutely implicit, as the last ground of the object.

3d. *In the Copula.* In every mental proposition there must be the subject, the predicate, and the copula connecting them, which is some form of the verb "to be;" thus: Man *is* mortal; Solomon *was* king; The storm *will be* destructive. In other mental propositions the copula is not expressed, but is understood; thus: Man *lives*, for man *is living*; The king *rules*, for The king *is ruling*. Pure being thus reveals itself

in every possible mental act, and is expressed by the copula, or some form of the verb "to be."

We see that pure being reveals itself to the mind of man in every object of the outward world, and in every fact of consciousness. It is ever present and present everywhere. The universal all is forever bathed in its pure floods.

II. *Pure-being and Self-Consciousness.* Thus far we have not departed essentially from the familiar, beaten track of philosophical opinion. But we have to encounter now some popular impressions quite erroneous in themselves, and from which only the better class of modern thinkers have emancipated themselves.

1. *Personality and Individuality.* To confound individuality and personality, as many philosophers have done in effect, is a very grave error, which has conducted to most serious consequences. Personality and individuality are not only quite distinct in their nature, but they are the products respectively of essentially different mental processes or faculties. Personality, the Ego, so-termed, or that denoted by the pronouns *I, me*, is the product of the rational faculty, or the pure reason, as distinguished from the understanding; while individuality is the product of the understanding alone. As the animal is endowed with understanding in common with man, so the animal possesses individuality the same as man. But as man is widely distinguished from the animal by the possession of pure reason, so is he distinguished from the animal by the attribute of personality, otherwise termed Self-consciousness. On the subject of reason as different from the understanding, and as something universal, divine, in man, M. Cousin thus writes:

"It is so far from being individual, that its peculiar characteristics are the opposite of individuality, viz., universality and necessity." "Reason is a revelation, a necessary and universal revelation, which is wanting to no man. Reason is the necessary mediator between God and man, the *logos* of Pythagoras and Plato, the *Word* made flesh, which serves as the interpreter of God and the teacher of man, *divine and human*,

at the same time. . . . It is the *revealed God* of the human race."¹

Never were truer words written, and the reader is requested to bear them in mind as we proceed. M. Cousin and his school hold that reason is impersonal ; yet no man ever knew better than M. Cousin, that personality is a product of reason, while individuality is a product of the understanding. His error here consists in confounding personality with individuality. If reason is universal, and personality is individuality, then, of course, reason is impersonal. But personality is itself universal, as we shall see ; it is universal, being a product of universal reason. We examine now briefly the two attributes, individuality and personality, as they are in themselves.

As frequently defined, and in the wider sense of the term, "the individual is a thing which cannot be divided without destroying it as such thing." Thus the products of the animal kingdom, for the most part, and so of the vegetable kingdom, must be regarded as individuals. Certainly, individuality, in this wide sense, cannot be confounded with personality. We confine ourselves, then, to such beings as possess a certain intelligence. As applied to man especially, what is individuality ? It is the feeling or perception of self as one, as no part of another, and as distinguished from all others. Without this distinction there can be no individuality. In few words, then, individuality is the affirmation of self, as distinguished from all others. Hence, it is not enough for the individual, in affirming himself, to say merely, "I am," for all individuals without distinction can truly say the same. The individual, to fully affirm himself as such, must say, "I am A. B.," or "I am C. D.," where the initials stand for the proper name of the individual, which involves distinction from all others. Thus, the proper name has to be added to the phrase "I am," in order to limit to a single one, excluding all others, the notion of individuality.

But the phrase "I am" is the proper, customary expression

¹ Fleming's Vocabulary of Philosophy, Art. Reason.

of personality ; and thus we see at a glance the essential difference between the two attributes under consideration. The uniform expression of personality is the phrase "I am," or "I am myself." It would be the same to say, "I am I," or Ego is Ego. These natural, normal expressions of personality may be affirmed of himself, not only by one man, but by every man, by all men, and they are usually so employed. The simple fact, indeed, that every man in affirming his personality, necessarily uses the same, identical terms, "I am," or "I am myself," demonstrates that personality itself is something common to all men, is the same identical personality, in every instance of its affirmation. Like pure being expressed by the term "is," if personality was different in different men, it would necessitate different terms in which to express it.

From the preceding remarks it appears that personality is the affirmation in one of that which is precisely the same in others, in all men. Each and every man says, "I am myself," or "I am I." But individuality is the affirmation in one of something different from what it is in other men ; thus, "I am A. B.," etc. It follows that personality is distinguished from individuality by the same characteristics that distinguish the pure reason from the understanding. The reason is something universal, is the same in all men ; and so is its chief product, personality. On the other hand, the understanding is peculiar to each man ; it is different in different minds ; and such also is individuality, its product. So far, then, as man is concerned, there can be but one personality, which, like universal pure being, and the universal pure reason, is inherited by the individual in common with all others, and as something not his own exclusively.

It is to be observed here that these views accord substantially with the Biblical Psychology. It is well known to Biblical critics that the Scriptures regard the soul (Heb., *nephish* ; Gr., *psuche*), as the seat of individuality, and that the soul is common to man and the brute. On the other hand, the seat of personality is the spirit (Heb., *ruakh* ; Gr., *pneuma*), which man inherits in distinction from the brute. The spirit in man

is regarded as something universal, divine, being the ground of man's relation to and union with God. The soul (*psuche*) in ancient psychology answers to the understanding in modern philosophy; and the spirit (*pneuma*) with the ancients, corresponded to the reason, the *logos*, in modern systems. Referring to these subjects, Dr. W. Hoffman remarks: "The correct view is this: the *spirit* is the innermost principle of man's *personality*; in its consciousness of being a creature of God, and therefore related to Him, the *soul* is the principle of *individuality*, rendered a human individuality by its relation to the spirit."² Man's relation to God is nothing arbitrary; it must be grounded in something common to both, in something which God is, and of which man partakes. This must be that in man which is highest, inmost, universal, and divine. It is the pure spirit, or reason, whose essential product is personality, or which is, rather, one with personality.³

2. The Act of Self-Consciousness. Personality is essentially an act of the mind, and as such is termed the "act of self-consciousness." We wish to discover now the exact relation of personality or self-consciousness to the pure being of philosophers.

(a) Let the inquiry be raised here, Of what is the person or Ego conscious, when it is self-conscious, or conscious of self? It is conscious that it *is*, simply; not that it is this, or that, but simply that it *is*. Or it is conscious that it has being, simply; not this or that particular being, but merely *being*, abstractly considered; hence the universal formula, *I am*, *Ego is*, where *am* and *is* mean the same, namely, pure being. The Ego, then, when it is self-conscious, is conscious of itself as being, in the sense of pure being. Now, that of which the Ego is conscious, when it is conscious of self, must be it-

² See Herzog's Prot. Encycl., Art. Adam. Amer. Edit. and Trans. by Bomberger, vol. I. p. 49.

³ NOTE. On the subject of Personality, the Ego, Schopenhauer very tersely observes:

"Most men think continually that they are a certain man. this or that man, (*τις ἄνθρωπος*), together with the corollaries that follow from this thought; but seldom do they think that they are man in general (*ὁ ἄνθρωπος*), though that is the main point. Those few who indulge in the last idea more than in the first are philosophers." (See Jour. Spec. Philos. St. Louis. 1871. p. 192.)

self; must be identical with itself, for it is itself of which it is conscious. Hence, if the Ego is conscious of itself as being, simply, or as pure being, it must be pure being; it must be identical with pure being.

(b) Another proof, quite similar, is the following. The act of self-consciousness, of course, is an act of self-knowing; for such it is to be self-conscious. In this act, also, that which knows, and that which is known, must be identical; for it is the same self which knows and is known; it is self knowing self. What, then, does the Ego know of itself in the act of self-knowing? The Ego knows that it *is*, simply, or that it has being, simply; it knows itself as being, in the sense of pure being. This is all expressed in the one phrase, "I am." If, then, the Ego knows itself as being, as pure being, it must be pure being, must be identical with it; for that here which knows, the Ego, is one with that which is known, or pure being.

(c) We have said that the Ego is conscious that it *is*, simply, or that it has being, simply; but is it not conscious that it is something more? that it has something more? This being which the Ego is and has, is expressed fully in the usual formula, *I am*; and this formula involves only the two notions: first, of pure being, expressed by the term *am* = *is*; second, that the Ego itself is pure being, thus expressed. No other element is involved in self-consciousness. The phrase, *I am myself*, or *I am I*, adds no new element to the previous expression. It merely affirms the self-identity of the Ego, like self identical pure being; thus, Being is Being, Ego is Ego. We have here the hint of another proof of our position.

(d) In subsumption pure being, since it is wholly abstract and absolutely universal, constitutes the highest category that can be thought. It has thus to be referred to its own category: Being *is* Being.

Here pure being shows itself absolutely self-identical, like $a = a$. Now this characteristic of self identity and self-equality appertains to pure being alone, and to that which is identical with it. There can be nothing self-identical belonging to

a higher category than pure being, for it is itself absolutely the highest conceivable. On the other hand, anything belonging to a category lower than pure being cannot be self-identical, for it is neither wholly abstract nor absolutely universal. Thus pure being alone, and that which is one with it, can possibly take the characteristic of self-identity. Self-consciousness, however, or personality, is self-identical; thus: *I am myself*; or *I am I*. It follows that self-consciousness and pure being are themselves identical.

Various other proofs, of a like conclusive and self-evident nature, might be produced here, showing that pure being is one and the same with self-consciousness; but we have not the space in this article to add to the foregoing, which, as we believe, will be held as entirely sufficient. There exists, then, but one universal Ego; the so-called "Individual Ego," limited to individuality, is a completely erroneous idea. Man's Ego, or personality, is not his own; it is universal; it is that of which man merely partakes, as of pure being, or of the pure reason, both of which are universal.⁴ *Universal pure being is universal self-consciousness; and this is the INFINITE AND ABSOLUTE BEING.* The philosophical principles, which have been now established, will serve the necessary basis for a correct interpretation,

III. *Of the Divine Name revealed to Moses.* A very remarkable analogy exists, apparent at the first glance, between the ordinary expression of personality — I am, or, I am myself — and the Sacred Name announced to Moses from the burning bush: "And God said unto Moses, *I am that I am*; and He said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, *I am* hath sent me unto you. And God said moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, The Lord (*Yahveh*) God of your fathers . . . hath sent me unto you:

⁴ NOTE. An excellent and profound writer and thinker thus remarks on the universality of the Ego:

"For what can be clearer than that there must be a bridge over from the subject to the object (the *me* to the *not me*), to render knowing at all possible? And this bridge must be the *universality of the Ego*. For if the Ego has nothing in common with the object, no participation with it, then its activity in the act of knowing will have nothing objective in it, but will be sheer subjective illusion." (W. T. H., in *Jour. Spec. Philos.* July, 1872. p. 265.)

this is my name forever, and this is my memorial unto all generations" (Exodus iii. 14, 15). We have here three distinct forms of this Divine Name: *I am*, *I am that I am*, and *Yahveh* (Jehovah) *He who is*; and all are derived from the same radical, *Havah*, the verb *to be*. As a great diversity of opinion exists relative to this sacred name, it will be necessary to investigate, briefly,

1. Its grammatical structure, and its proper translation. It is well known to scholars that in the Hebrew original the three forms of this name are found in the future tense, instead of in the present, as usually rendered, thus: *Ehyeh*, "I will be;" *Ehyeh asher Ehyeh*, "I will be who I will be;" and *Yahveh*, "He who will be."⁵ It is held, in fact, by some able critics, that this name of God related especially to the expected Messiah, "the promised seed of the woman," regarded as the "Coming One," as "He who is to come," or "He who will be;" and thus that the name itself should be rendered literally in the future, according to the original.⁶ But the generality of critics has always held that the rendering into the present tense is perfectly correct; and this is confirmed by the Septuagint: *Εγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν*, "I am He who is;" by the Vulgate, *Ego sum qui sum*, "I am who am;" and other ancient, as well as many modern, versions. Again, the paraphrase of this Divine Name — for such it is uniformly regarded — by St. John, the Revelator; "Him which is, and which was, and which is to come" (Rev. i. 4; iv. 8), shows that the name as given to Moses contains all the tenses, without any exclusive, future reference, and is thus more properly rendered in the present tense.⁷ Still again; the Hebrew language, as is well

⁵ The verb *Havah*, the root of these three forms, belongs to the class of verbs technically termed *Lamedh He-ה*.

⁶ See an able paper advocating this view, by Prof. MacWhorter, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Andover, 1857. pp. 98–123. "Jehovah regarded as a Memorial Name." Cf. "Yahveh Christ," by the same author. Chap. v.

⁷ See generally on this point Prof. Stuart, Dr. Barnes, etc., *Comments in loc*, Prof. Stuart cites the ancient Rabbins to the same effect, thus, Targ. Jon. on Deut. xxxii. 89, *Ego ille qui est, et qui fuit, et qui erit. . . Annon pater unus? Et ipse fuit, ipse est, et ipse erit.* Targ. Hieros. in Ex. iii. 14: *Qui fuit est, et erit, dixit mundo (Id)* Certainly, the ancient Jews must have inherited tolerably correct traditions respecting this sacred name.

known, has no proper present tense, but only the præter and future, otherwise termed perfect and imperfect. Both are often put for the present, though the future is most frequently so employed. If, then, this Divine Name absolutely required the present tense to express its true meaning, it must take the form of the future (or præter) in the Hebrew. The simple fact that it does take this form, therefore, affords no proof that it should not be rendered into the present, according to the authorized English Version. But that which seems conclusive on the point before us is the statement: "This is my name forever, and my memorial unto all generations." On the theory that this name, as "He who will be," referred especially to the "Coming One," to the expected Messiah, the rendering, "He who will be," would cease to have any significance, and would become perfectly incongruous as a name, after the Messiah had actually come. Certainly "He who will come," cannot apply to one who has already come; and yet this revealed title of God was to be his name forever, and his everlasting memorial. So, too, if the correct reading of this name is *Yahveh* יהוה, this is the Hiphil form of the verb *Havah*, הָיָה, to be, having thus a causal signification; so that the literal sense would be, "He who causes existence;" that is, the Creator; not "He who will be," merely, and certainly not "He who *will cause* existence." It is apparent, then, from every point of view, that the usual translation of this divine name into the present tense, is alone the proper rendering.

2. The precise idea usually attached to this Divine Name. For the most part, the notion attached by critics to this revealed name of God, amounts to but little, if any, more than the so-called pure being of the philosophers. Dr. Fürst remarks that this name "signifies the *ever existing one*."⁸ Dr. Gesenius says it is "regarded as designating God as *eternal, immutable, who will never be other than the same*."⁹ Prof. Stuart attributes to it the notion of the "*self-existent and eternal God*."¹⁰ Others, almost without number, might be cited here,

⁸ Heb. Lex., Sub. יהוה.⁹ Heb. Lex., Sub. יהוה.¹⁰ Comt. Apoc. i. 4.

as employing the same or similar expressions; and, as before said, they imply but little if any more than pure being. Other critics, however, who derive this name from the Hiphil, or causative form of the verb *to be*, which even Dr. Gesenius does, since he adopts the reading *Yahveh*, יהוה, strongly insist upon the notion of "He who causes existence," or of Creator, as inherent in this substantive form of the sacred name.¹¹ This view has been advocated by Clericus, Legarde, Schrader, and other eminent Hebraists.¹² There appears, however, at first glance, a serious difficulty in the way of this modern interpretation. It is evident that the three forms of this name, the two verbal, *I am* and *I am that I am*, and the substantive *Yahveh* or *Jehovah*, were intended to express one and the same idea; whereas, it is certain that these two verbal forms are not derived from the Hiphil, but from the ground form *Kal* of the verb *Havah*; and thus that the meaning they involve is different from that of the Hiphil conjugation. To avoid this difficulty, as it would seem, Prof. de Legarde denies *in toto* that the verbal form, *I am that I am* (Heb., *Ehyeh asher ehyeh*), is any part or portion of this divine title. He construes it as a rebuke to Moses, for having asked God to reveal His name, thus, "It is nothing to thee who I am," etc.¹³ But it is obvious that this view will never gain the general assent of critics. Dr. Schrader, while he attaches the sense usually done, to this verbal form of the name, maintains that it is too abstract for the Hebrews to comprehend in early times, and thus, that it reflects the culture of a later period. On this point Prof. Legarde, in his characteristic style, when treating of opinions different from his own, remarks that "the notion of 'being,' or 'essential existence,' could not have been employed in early times to express the nature of the Deity. . . If any insist on thinking differently, they may possibly please this *fickle and ignorant age* by their persistence in boast-

¹¹ Prof. Stuart remarks on the pointing *Yahveh* יהוה: "This is the Hiphil future" and means *He who causes existence*." (Op. cit.)

¹² For the views of Clericus and Legarde, see Bib. Sacra, Andover, 1878, pp. 544-561. For Schrader's views, see Shenkel's Bitel Lex. Art. *Yahve*, B. 3,

¹³ Bib. Sacra, 1878, p. 549.

ing, and even by their very ignorance ; but will certainly be always a laughing-stock among prudent people.”¹⁴ After such a delectable warning, it may be ludicrous to state what we nevertheless venture to do, that Divine Names derived from the verb “to be,” or verb of existence, were quite common in the ancient religions, some of them dating from a high antiquity. There was the Sanscrit *Asura*, dating from the Vedic period, whose Zendic form was *Ahura*, both derived from the root *as*, *asmi*, Greek *εἰμι*, *I am*.¹⁵ These two Divine Names dated from the primitive Aryan development. Nebuchadnezzar, also, applies to the Babylonian god *Hea*, the title of *Auv Kinuv*, the *Existent Being*, which is derived from the same Semitic radical as the Hebrew *Yahveh*.¹⁶ Now, if the primitive Aryans, the Babylonians and old Accadians were able to apprehend the notion of abstract being, it is not very ridiculous to suppose the Hebrews were thus able in early times. But after all said and done, it is pure assumption on the part of these writers, that God never reveals a name or notion that is at all above the comprehension of the common people of the period. The objection before stated, then, still holds good, that the three forms of the name revealed to Moses ought to involve the same sense ; and thus that, if the verbal forms are found in *Kal*, such should be the derivation of the substantive, *Jehovah*, יהוה. Nevertheless, the third person future of *Kal* would give the reading *Yihveh* יִהְיֶה, instead of *Yahveh*, which is the Hiphil formation. The shortened or apocopated forms *Yah*, *Yahu*, go to prove that the first vowel

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 547.

¹⁵ Fick, Vergh. Wörterbuch, etc., i. 279, 280. Cf. Curtius, Gründzüge, etc., 2d Aufl. pp. 378, 379.

¹⁶ Inscription of Bersippas, Cunif. Incrip. West Asia. I., Pl. 51, No. 2. l. 2, Cf. Lenormant, Fragments de Berosses, p. 65. It is remarkable, also, that the old Accadian pronoun *nu*, first person singular *I*, *I am*; the *Ego*, takes likewise the meaning of *name*, Hebrew *Shem*, and of *memorial*; thus, Memorial Name, all connected with the notion of self, the *Ego*. This seems to be strictly analogous with the Hebrew phrases, *ani hû*, am He, and *ani ani hû*, I even I am He (See Deut xxxii, 39; Isa. xli. 4; xliii. 10, 13, 25, etc.). Dr. Goldzhier is doubtless correct in the opinion that these phrases are nominal forms answering exactly to the verbal forms, *Ehveh*, I am, etc. (Mythos bel den Hebräern, p. 360.) It is important to state that the capital city of the Accadians was the *Ur-Kadim*, from which Abraham originally migrated.

was *a*, and thus that *Yahveh* was, after all, the true original pointing of this substantive form of the Divine Name. We adopt, then, for ourselves, the Hiphil hypothesis, which gives the reading *Yahveh*; with the literal sense of "He who causes existence," or "The Creator;" and it becomes necessary, therefore, to find a similar meaning in the verbal expressions, *I am*, *I am that I am*.

3. The Revealed Name as the exact formula of self-consciousness, or personality. As already remarked, the notion connected with this revealed title of Divinity, by the majority of critics, amounts to but little more than that of the pure being of the philosophers.¹⁷ If the notion of self-consciousness, of personality, has been not unfrequently attributed to it, this has been rather attached to it indefinitely, than strictly and legitimately deduced from it. Yet such is undoubtedly the exact idea intended to be expressed by this Divine Name.

1. We have here the term *Ehyeh*, I am, in the phrase, "*I am* hath sent me unto you." If, now, this is a correct rendering of the term *Ehyeh*, as it seems to be, it is the exact, normal expression of self-consciousness in man, I am. This is not being simply, nor yet self-existence; it is strict personality, in its modern, philosophical apprehension. Nothing more nor less can be possibly made of it. The phrase *I am* stands for the Ego, for Personality in man, wherever the English language is spoken; and this Ego stands for Causality in man, for the free, active, creative agent.

2. Compare, now, the more complete formula, *I am myself*, with the Hebrew, *I am that I am*. In the Hebrew original, *Ehyeh asher Ehyeh*, the term *asher* is the relative pronoun, "who, which, that which," etc. Thus, *I am who I am*. We have here, as clearly as the Hebrew language can express it, the notion of self-identity, which, as has been shown, is the

¹⁷ As an example of the notions held respecting this name, take the following from a more recent and very able author: "'I AM THAT I AM . . . This is my name forever, and this is my memorial to all generations' Ex. iii. 14, 15. 'I am that I am'—the self-existent, self-poised, independent, unchangeable, eternal" (Saml. J. Baird, D.D. *The Elohim Revealed*, etc. pp. 83, 84). This is no more nor less than simple pure being, which is self-existent, universal, eternal, unchangeable, etc., etc. Not a word here of self-consciousness, of Personality.

sole characteristic of self-consciousness, identified with pure being ; thus, Being is being ; I am myself, or, I am I. The only exception to an exact identity between the Hebrew and English formulas is the fact that the Hebrew tongue has no reflexive pronoun, like myself, and hence to express self-identity, the first term of the formula has to be repeated, thus, *I am who I am*, instead of *I am myself*. If it were not for the reflexive myself, we would be forced to say, I am who I am, or that which I am. Here is, then, an exact equivalence of the two phrases ; the Hebrew formula expresses absolute self-identity, and this is absolute personality ; *I am I* ; *Ego is Ego*. Now, nothing so stands for causality in man, for the free, creative intelligence, as personality, as that which says, *I am myself*, or *I am who I am*. But when we come to the substantive form of this Divine Name, which is found in the third person singular, instead of first person, it would be impossible to express this notion of free, intelligent causality, involved in that of personality, if we still adhered to the ground form Kal, of the verb *Havah*. To do this we must adopt the Hiphil or causal form of the verb, which is *Yahveh*, employed as a noun, and as a personal name of the Deity. We thus explain how it is that the two verbal forms of this revealed name derived from the verb in Kal, involve exactly the notion of the substantive *Yahveh*, derived from the Hiphil conjugation. Personality, free, intelligent causality, is the exact idea involved in the three forms. That the actual design was to express the notion of self-consciousness, of the Ego, in the Hebrew original, is confirmed by the corresponding nominal expressions already referred to, *ani hû*, I am He ; *ani ani hû*, I even I am He.

That, now, which appears on the face of these phrases, I am, I am who I am, namely, personality, is confirmed by a critical view of all the facts relating to them. Indeed, if a man says, I am, I am myself, or yet, I am that which I am, no one doubts that he means to affirm thereby his self-consciousness, his personality. For the same reason, there should be no mystery as regards the exact idea intended to be expressed

in the three forms of the Sacred Name revealed to Moses. Such expressions can hardly pass for anything else but personality, the Ego.

In revealing the true name and nature of God, it was not necessary to express particularly the notion of universality ; for, as has been shown, self-consciousness, identified with universal pure being, knowing itself, is itself necessarily universal. So, too, infinity, self-existence, omnipresence, above all, free, intelligent causality, and all the other attributes of the Deity, are expressed in the same breath with personality, considered as universal. Universal pure being is universal self-consciousness ; and this is the Infinite and Absolute Being. It would be impossible to conceive of a more advantageous point of view, than that here afforded, for the development of a pure Theism.

It was a favorite idea with the ancients, and especially with the Hebrews, in connection with the sacred Tetragrammaton revealed to Moses ; that the true name of God expressed also the essential nature of God. Such is indeed the fact. The Deity, in order to be such, must be Universal Pure Being ; and Universal Pure Being is Universal Self-consciousness ; and this is exactly formulated in the Divine Name revealed to Moses.

Again, it has been frequently insisted upon by critics that this revealed name involves fundamentally the notion of the *manifested* or *revealed* God, of the Deity in His relation to man. This also is emphatically true, God's essential relation to man, and man's essential relation to God, if not wholly arbitrary, factitious, must be grounded in something which God essentially *is*, and of which man partakes, as his inmost, highest, universal self ; and this can be no other than Self-consciousness, Personality, which is universal, which God is, and which man inherits from God, the same as the pure reason, or pure being. Critics have often affirmed, in fact, that it is in his personality that man stands related to God ; although they have never explained to us how and why this is so. We see here exactly in what consists the essential relation between

the Deity and man. But if Personality in man was his own, like individuality, if it was limited to his individuality, it could have nothing in common with God, and could not serve as the ground of any direct relation between God and man. Personality, however, is something universal and divine; it is that common to all rational existences, and the basis of the relation between them. It is a great fact, therefore, when God revealed His true name to Moses, that He therein expressed both His own nature and the nature of His relation to man.

As will be seen, that which affords the key to our interpretation of the Divine Name revealed to Moses, is the universality of the Ego, of personality, in man, denying *in toto* the reality of the so-called "Individual Ego," which is a popular psychological illusion, and common even to nearly all the philosophies. Even Hegel, who held that the Absolute Being is essential Self-consciousness, limits the Ego in man to the individual; making thus a distinction between the human and divine Self-consciousness. But we show that pure being itself is the highest possible category, and that it is in fact identical with Self-consciousness. Thus Personality is that which God essentially is, in Himself,¹⁸ of which the Ego in man is merely an inheritance from God, the same as the pure reason or the pure being, of which all rational existences merely partake in common. That which, therefore, is the highest, the inmost, in man, is common both to God and man; it is that which God is essentially, of which man partakes. It is this universal self-consciousness, common to God and man, which is the ground of the essential relation existing between them. And this is exactly formulated in the Divine Name revealed to Moses.

Of course there can be no question here, whether God is a Personal Being; for He is essential Personality, of which the human personality in man's primeval estate, was a conscious

¹⁸ That God is essential Personality is asserted in the following:

"The intimate relation of God as Being, to all His attributes and to all His essences constitutes the Divine Personality, which for God is His entire Being." "The divine consciousness, or divine personality embraces all that is in God, all of which He is the reason" (Tiberghien, cited by Fleming. Vocabulary of Philosophy. Art. Person).

and blissful participation. In God Personality and Individuality are one and the same, since He is the Universal Individual. Man, however, as an individual, is strictly finite. It is only in his personality that he partakes of the Divine Nature, which, as we have seen, is essential Personality. The point of view which we here attain is obviously that alone which can serve the basis of a pure Theism, and at the same time, of a satisfactory explanation of man's relationship to God.

The bearing of these views on man's relation to his fellow man is also quite important. We see that, as persons, all men are alike, while as individuals they are unlike, are different. Individuality is the ground of distinction, difference among men; while Personality is the ground of their unity, identity; the ground of the *Universal Brotherhood*.

We have no space here to discuss the question of the Fall of Man. But one thing is certain,—man has lost, if he ever actually possessed, the consciousness of his relation to, his union with, God, grounded in Personality, which is common to both God and man. By appropriating Personality to himself as something his own; by limiting it to his individuality, man effectually severs his relation to God, separates himself from God, from nature, from his true universal Life and Being, and converts his proper selfhood thereby into a falsehood.

The simple fact that man in his present state converts his true selfhood into a falsehood, is proof positive that he is a fallen being. Thus it is that the restoration of man to the consciousness of his union with God, through that which is inmost and highest in man, or Personality, constitutes the aim of all Revelation, of all true Religion. But the great length to which this essay has already attained, warns us not to trespass longer upon the indulgence of the reader.

O. P. Miller, D.D.

ARTICLE XXXI.

"The New Covenant" and its Critics.

THE Publishing House should be congratulated on the example it has set in inserting a disparaging criticism of one of its own publications, in its principal periodical. Publishers usually employ only the gamut of eulogy in their book-notices, declining to use their type in dispraise, however just. The example of the Publishing House should convince its patrons that it has confidence in its own books, and that it is determined to deal justly by its constituents, or it would not permit disparagement of its publications in its own critiques.

The author of the article should also be commended, so far as he has indicated actual defects in a volume of his own church literature. Too frequently religious critics and journals can find only words of praise for works in their own sectarian interest, and adverse criticism is a stranger to their pages. The "Review of 'The New Covenant,'" ¹ in the April number of the QUARTERLY, might, however, with great propriety, have been excluded from its pages, had its admission rested on its claim to be in the full sense of the word a book review, for it does not even attempt to indicate the merits of the book, or what the author purposed and has accomplished in its preparation. But the publishers seem to have preferred to err on the side of toleration, rather than incur the charge of undue partiality for their own. Certainly no other conceivable reason could demand their publication of Prof. Forbes's critique.

The unusual examples set by the Publishing House and Prof. Forbes will excuse, if excuse is needed, the equally unusual circumstance of an author writing in defence of his own book ;—moreover, the character and importance of the work, as an attempt to faithfully present the Christian Scriptures in modern English, with the results of the best criticism

¹ A Review of "THE NEW COVENANT," by Prof. H. P. Forbes, in the April QUARTERLY.

wrought into the text, should justify its author in explaining its merits to those who have had no opportunity to examine it, and in relieving it from the adverse criticisms of those who from any cause have mistaken and misstated its contents. Such a work as a new translation of the Scriptures, destined to be identified with our church literature, should at least be accurately described in this review, which, more than any other of our church publications, should pronounce upon the character of our literature. The author of the work has, for these and other reasons, concluded that he can, without presumption, set some of his critics right, and present to the public a few of the claims on which his work rests: claims that few beside himself can be supposed to see as clearly as he sees them, and which none beside himself would be likely to take the trouble to describe.

Before noticing his QUARTERLY critic, however, the author will devote some attention to certain critical references that have been made to his version from other sources. They have proceeded from several directions.

1. From those who deny the supernatural origin of the Bible, and who object to our book because it proves by the actual language of the Word that the unreasonable doctrines they reject are not taught therein. The tone of their criticisms indicates that they very much desire that the Bible may seem to teach irrational doctrines, in order that they may have the better ground of opposition to it. One of them says:

While our own view of the eschatology of the New Testament is doubtless substantially the same as that of our Universalist brethren, yet, in the interest of sound scholarship, we cannot help protesting against efforts to make the gospels explicitly teach the doctrine of a final restoration of all men to holiness and happiness. It does not follow that because the dogma is a rational one, it is to be found upon the pages of the four evangelists.

The animus of such a critic is apparent. He regards the doctrine of universal restoration as a reasonable one, but is unwilling to admit that the four Gospels teach it, and "The New Covenant" is condemned because its more literal rendering

shows that the New Testament does teach the doctrine. The Bible as an inspired book is the special abhorrence of this class of critics, and next to that is a successful attempt to show that the book of books is worthy of confidence. The more clearly "The New Covenant" teaches a rational Christianity, the more obnoxious it becomes in their eyes.

A specimen of this critic's treatment is seen in this: Instead of "thorns" the word "acanthuses" is employed in "The New Covenant." Now "acanthuses" is the original, and the very word Jesus employed. Acanthus (*ἄκανθα akantha*) is also good English, is, in fact, the English as well as Greek name of the plant Jesus referred to. There are other thorny plants besides the acanthus, among them the *σκόλοψ*, (*skolops*) 2 Cor. xii. 7. Jesus said and meant "acanthuses;" and yet the critic referred to quotes the following from the book: "He that is sown among the acanthuses is the one that hears the word, and the cares of the æon, and the delusion of riches choke the word and it becomes unfruitful;" and proposes to style our book the "Acanthus Version." Very good. He could not better compliment it than by naming it for a characteristic that demonstrates its accuracy.

But we must express our thanks to this critic for a verbal correction in John vi. 71, which should read "Judas (son) of Simon of *Kariotus*," instead of "Judas, son of *Kariotus*," the words "of Simon" having been accidentally omitted by us.

2. Another class includes certain Christian people who unwillingly see in "The New Covenant" an exponent of Universalism. These writers do not undertake to show that our renderings are inaccurate, and they do not seem to see that they make a fatal admission when they acknowledge that while our rendering is more literal and exact, it causes the book to seem to teach universal salvation. This is surely no objection to it. The Baptist translation is not at all to be condemned because it contains the admitted facts that favor the position of that church, but which the Revision Committee declined to embody in the Revision. Why should it be reck-

oned a fault in "The New Covenant" that it insists on the facts that favor the Universalist theories? The question should not be, Is the version more favorable to the doctrine of universal salvation than is the Revision? but, Is it accurate where it differs from that version, and from King James's? The translator only asks to be tried by this test. But these critics do us unintentional injustice. Take the candid *Interior* (Chicago), as an example:

That his translation is a faithful one, except where controverted topics are involved, we fully admit. Yet it loses the force imparted by the old Anglo-Saxon dialect to the authorized version, and that without any compensating benefit. In his translation of certain controverted passages Dr. Hanson certainly runs into a worse error than he cures, when he makes the young ruler ask, "What shall I do to inherit æonian life?" and makes the Saviour talk of "æonian" fire, "æonian" chastisement, "æonian" tabernacles, and "æonian" life. We submit that to the average reader of the New Testament that adjective has no meaning whatever, and that, consequently, every sentence in which it occurs is meaningless. We all think we know what 'baptize' means; what 'æonian' means, who knows?

The *Interior* does not seem to be aware that Tennyson, De Quincey, and other standard writers employ these words. But nothing can be fairer than our treatment of the æonian phraseology, which should secure the approval not only of Universalists, but of all others as well. In the Established Version and Revised Version *aîōn*, *aîōnios*, *αἰών*, *αἰώνιος*, are rendered "age," "world," "everlasting," "forever," "eternal," etc. But nothing is now better settled than that "age" and "ages" are the exact renderings of the noun, and "age-lasting," or pertaining to an age, the meaning of the adjective, in almost all cases; and in all cases so far as a time-sense is involved, indefinite but limited duration is the meaning of the words. But there are instances of the use of the adjective in which it is claimed by some scholars that something more than mere duration is denoted; that is, quality as well as duration. The æonian life is something more than an age-long life, they say. We have no precisely equivalent English adjective for *aîōnios*, and inasmuch as the æonian terms are the pivotal

words in the controversy between Universalists and Partialists, what can be at once more candid and exact than to transliterate rather than translate them? Orthodox critics and some others accuse the translator of "The New Covenant" of carrying his Universalist idiosyncracies into his translation. This is precisely what he has not done. He might have rendered the noun "age" every time, and the adjective "age-lasting," and justified his course by the lexicography, etymology, and usage of the word in all classic and sacred literature. As a partisan theologian he should have done so. As a rigid critic he might have done so. Had he made his version solely in the interest of his church, he certainly would have done so. But there was another course open to him, that was not obnoxious to any charge of theological bias, and that no candid reader could object to, which was to Anglicise the noun by the word *æon*, singular, *æons*, plural, and the adjective by *æonian*. These are recognized English words, and have the merit of being the very words of the original, and any reader can interpret them wherever they occur, as the connection requires. Certainly no one can accuse the translator of being biased when he refrains from translating the terms expressive of duration by such words as "age" and "age-lasting," which he was fully justified in doing, and gives the very form of the original.

The only objection offered is, that these words are not in common use. But there are many excellent and important words in the New Testament not in common use. *Æon* is in the English dictionary, and *æon* and *æonian* are found in standard English literature, and are becoming more and more common. The same objection could have been made to the use of the word "chasm" a few years ago. It is the best word to represent the Greek rendered "gulf" in the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, (Luke xvi, *χάσμα*, *chasma*); but it had not been naturalized in English speech when the Established Version was made. *Æon* and *æonian* are fast becoming familiar, and are the best possible words to represent *αἰών, αἰώνιος*. This is our double answer to critics who

have (1) accused us of leaning toward our own theological views in translating, and (2) of not using good English words in this connection. These are the very words Jesus used, and are sanctioned by the best English usage. Tennyson sings,

"Draw down æonian hills,
And sow the dust of continents to be."

But the criticisms of "evangelical" critics have been more favorable than was to be anticipated. The *N. W. Christian Advocate* (Methodist) says :

The translation, we believe, is generally carefully done, and the volume cannot fail to be useful to an earnest seeker after the truth in the New Testament.

And the *Independent*, whose literary notices are among the ablest published, observes :

The Universalism of the version is for the most part limited to indefinite translations such as "æonian punishment" (chastisement) for "eternal punishment," but occasionally takes the shape of affirmation in positive and dogmatic notes and commentations, or the more questionable use of parentheses interpolated by the author into the text, to aid what he believes to be the meaning. This, without being carried far enough to impeach the candor of the author, gives his work a tinge of Universalistic sectarianism as compared with the product of a more catholic scholarship. As a whole the version commands respect and indicates careful study, an honest purpose, and good scholarship.

In point of fact, however, there is not a parenthetical word interpolated anywhere in the version to aid a passage towards a Universalistic sense.

8. Beside these critics are those who have a little smattering of Greek, and who feel bound to advertise their knowledge by criticisms, most of which demonstrate their extreme ignorance of the points they raise ; those who are so wedded to the "polarized" phraseology of the Established Version, that any change is obnoxious to them, however excellent it may be ; those martinets in educational institutions, who deem it necessary to vindicate their knowledge of technical points, regard-

less of that perspective that a broader knowledge and an accurate perception of all the facts would open to them, but which they are incompetent to perceive; those who object to changes that the facts compel, for no other reason than because they do not like the sound of them, which is usually a very good reason why they should be made; those to whom any change in the phraseology of the Bible is intolerable, theological Bourbons, who forget nothing, and learn nothing; those who find as they read the improved phraseology of "The New Covenant," that it renders more than ever antiquated many an old sermon (whose points are based on a false rendering), and calls for the modification of a multitude of polemical books, whose texts are greatly modified by it, and demands a recommitment of Scripture, which differs from the shape in which it was memorized. All those who are interested as above, do not relish any change, no matter how great may be the improvement. In fact, any new version is contested by that ultra conservative spirit that will not brook any interference with "God's word." But no English version is God's word. The Greek original comes nearest to that. It is an irreverent reverence that invests any version with such sanctity as to repel any attempt at communion with the divine original for the purpose of bringing a more accurate report to men. It is to make a fetich of a book, and perpetuate mistakes. It is to render corruptions of the original sacred, and errors of translation inspired. What is popularly called "good English" (in the Bible) is the English of three hundred years ago, now obsolete or obsolescent outside the Bible, much of which was in fact already obsolete when King James's translation was made, and yet which is largely present in the Established Version and the Revised Version.

There is probably no literary task to which any one could possibly set his hand, that would elicit from so many different directions so many utterly inconsequential and incompetent objections, as a version of the Bible, and the more thorough and accurate the work, the more numerous and pronounced the criticisms would be likely to be. Prof. Schaff shows in

his "Companion" how bitterly translations of the Bible have usually been received. Jerome heard a crowd of "two-legged donkeys," as he called them (*bipedes asselli*), braying over his work, the Vulgate, which even Augustine thought would do more harm than good; and yet eleven centuries after his death, the council of Trent (April 8, 1546), voted it equal with the original; Wiclif, the first English translator of the Bible, was called by the Archbishop of Canterbury, "that pestilent wretch of damnable memory, son of the old serpent, who as the complement of his wickedness, invented a new translation of the Scriptures into his mother tongue;" Tyndale's translation was publicly burned in St. Paul's churchyard, by order of the bishop of London, and Tyndale himself was afterward strangled and burned at the stake; the authors of the Geneva version were fugitives from persecution, and yet King James's translation is substantially from it; the Established Version met with all kinds of opposition. Prof. Schaff pertinently observes:

There are many lineal descendants of those priests, who, in the reign of Henry VIII., preferred their old-fashioned *Mumpsimus Domine* to the new-fangled *Sumpsimus*; even in the enlightened State of Massachusetts, a pious deacon is reported to have opposed the Revision of 1881 with the conclusive argument, "If St. James's Version was good enough for St. Paul, it is good enough for me!"

But these are all more than offset by the genuine scholars who are able to appreciate any good points in such a work, and to place a proper estimate on such slight inaccuracies as are inevitable to a task involving so many thousand items; and by the great mass of those for whom the work is intended,—candid, intelligent people, who desire to know just what the New Testament teaches. For such as the latter, chiefly, and not alone for scholars, who can examine the original for themselves, "The New Covenant" is intended: an aid in arriving at the precise meaning of the Word.

Nothing is more essential to a correct understanding of the New Testament than a release from the bonds which have

been welded about it by a crystallized phraseology. Words, especially those in religious terminology, by long and inaccurate usage, become saturated with false meanings, and go freighted with error, from æon to æon. Many a falsehood is thus sustained, and its lease of life renewed. "The New Covenant" claims to be a contribution to the work of lifting the New Testament out of some of the crystallizations that have been induced by erroneous creeds. Several important errors owe their hold on the popular mind to the inaccurate Bible words that carry them. Remove those words, and the errors they represent, having no other foundation, will soon disappear. Dr. O. W. Holmes well observes, ("Prof. Breakfast Table," p. 8):

The religious currency of mankind in thought, in speech, in print, consists entirely of polarized words. Borrow one of these from another language and religion, and you will find it leaves all its magnetism behind it. Take that famous word *Om*, of the Hindoo mythology. Even a priest cannot pronounce it without sin: and a holy pundit would shut his ears and run away from you in horror, if you should say it aloud. What do you care for *Om*? If you wanted to get the pundit to look at his religion fairly, you must first depolarize this and all similar words for him. The argument for and against new translations of the Bible really turns on this. Scepticism is afraid to trust its truths in depolarized words, and so cries out against a new translation. I think myself, if every idea our book contains could be shelled out of its old symbol, and put into a new, clean, unmagnetic word, we should have some chance of reading it as philosophers or wisdom-lovers ought to read it, — which we do not and cannot now, any more than a Hindoo can read the "Gayatri," as a fair man and lover of truth should do. When society has once fairly dissolved the New Testament, which it never has done yet, it will, perhaps, crystallize it over again in new forms of language.

"The New Covenant" is a contribution towards such a result. The truth is, while the Established Version is full of archaisms and obsolete words and phrases (see our Introduction in "The New Covenant"), the Revised Version is little better. The clergy of the English church, who inaugurated and controlled the work of revision, could not, splendid scholars though they

are, disentangle themselves from a pre-Elizabethan phraseology. Will the reader compare the Established Version and Revised Version with "The New Covenant" in the following passages: Luke ix. 12—Established Version, "get victuals," New Covenant, "find provisions;" Matt. xiv. 8—Revised Version, "in a charger," New Covenant, "on a tray;" Matt. xiii. 14—"By hearing ye shall hear, and shall in no wise understand, and seeing ye shall see, and shall in no wise perceive," New Covenant, "By hearing you will hear, and not understand, and seeing you will see without perceiving;" Matt. iii. 12—Revised Version, "whose fan is in his hand," New Covenant, "whose winnowing shovel is in his hand;" Matt. vi. 13—Revised Version, "Deliver us from the evil *one*," New Covenant, "Save us from the evil;" and hundreds of other passages. In fact, in almost every instance of marked difference between the Established Version, and Revised Version, and New Covenant, there is a clearer, plainer rendering, as well as a greater fidelity to the original, in the latter.

The word "slave" in "The New Covenant" has been objected to; but this word is adopted because no other word would faithfully represent the original. The words "servant," "domestic," "hired servant," "minister," and "slave" are equivalents of Greek words, no one of which can fill the place of any of the others. There are several words rendered "servant," which differ in the kind of servants they denote. The words are, *διάκονος*, *δοῦλος*, *οἰκέτης*, *παῖς*, *ὑπερέτης*, *μίσθιος*, *μισθωτός*, *θράκων*. "Hired servants," "domestics," "public servants," "slaves," etc., are described by different Greek words. To render them all "servant" would be too general. *Δοῦλος* (*doulos*) means "slave;" *δουλέω* (*douleuo*) "to slave," and carries the idea of utter surrender to another—a vast deal more than mere service. In the New Testament the word is used in a high and noble sense, as well as in the ordinary signification of mere servitude. Paul called himself, "God's slave." By this he would carry the idea of his entire surrender to God. "Servant" was too weak to convey his thought. The Elder Son in the parable says: "These many years I have *slaved* for

you." He would indicate something more than ordinary service. To American and modern ears the word "slave" sounds harsh, but the sacred writers used it to denote the most devoted and thorough service, as well as common servitude. To distinguish such a service from ordinary service, "slave" is the only English word. The question is not, Is the word "slave" agreeable to a hypercritical ear? but, Is it the proper rendering of *doulos*?

Several critics have quarreled with our use of the word "reign," *basileia* (*basileia*), instead of "kingdom," and especially of the plural form instead of the singular, (*basileia* *τῶν οὐρανῶν*, kingdom of the heavens), and sometimes "heavenly reign," for "kingdom of heaven." But "heavenly reign" is perfectly legitimate from "reign of the heavens," and wherever we say "the heavens," the Greek uses the plural and the article. And certainly the sway that "the heavens," heavenly things exert in the soul and in the world is a reign rather than a kingdom. "The fixed and common religious meaning and use" of "kingdom of heaven," to quote Prof. Forbes's words, carry to the ordinary mind the idea of an outward, mechanical, sometimes material, objective affair. The word "reign" far better than "kingdom" expresses the thought of Jesus and his apostles, and wherever the plural and the article are used in the original, "reign of the heavens" is better than "Kingdom of heaven." Those who prefer the form in the Established Version and the Revised Version, are among those referred to by Dr. Holmes. They are clinging to "polarized words."

We have been criticized for substituting "immerse," etc., for "baptize," etc.; but the latter is discarded, and the former adopted because *βάπτω*, *βαπτίζω*, *baptō*, *baptizo*, mean "to dip," or "immerse." The rendering is compelled by the facts in the case. It is, indeed, the only word that actually defines the original. The version by the American Bible Union so renders it, and Luther's translation does the same, *Johannes der Tauffer*, John the Immerser, or Dipper, who preached *die Tauffe der Busse*, the immersion of repentance. The Dutch

Version renders it by *doop*, dip, or immerse. Dean Stanley remarks :

There can be no question that the original form of baptism — the very meaning of the word — was complete immersion in deep baptismal waters ; and that for at least four centuries every other form was either unknown or unregarded, unless in the case of dangerous illness, as an exceptional, almost a monstrous case. (Lectures East. Ch. p. 29.)

For the first thirteen centuries the almost universal practice of baptism was that of which we read in the New Testament, and which is the *very meaning of the word baptize*,—that those who were baptized were *plunged, submerged, immersed* into the water. In a version of the Bible which the Baptist Church has compiled for its own use in America, it is thought necessary, and *on philological grounds it is quite correct*, to translate "John the Baptist" by "John the Immerser."

We now direct our attention to Prof. Forbes, who is not included in the classes of critics discribed above. He entirely misapprehends, and consequently, we are sorry to say, misrepresents, the fact in reference to the Greek Text from which "The New Covenant" is rendered. It is substantially and almost entirely from the recension of Westcott and Hort, except that in some cases, where S., or V., or both, which constituted the main sources of W. and H., were not followed by them, "The New Covenant" contains the word or words of S., or V., or both, and sometimes of A., in italics, not as indicating any disposition to pronounce against their judgment, but as a matter of information to the reader — who, it is assumed, will have the Revision, which, with its marginal references, is practically Westcott and Hort, — that these oldest MSS. contain the italicized word or words in "The New Covenant" differing from W. and H. It is not to indicate a preference for the italicized word, it is in no sense a departure from W. and H., but as a matter of information to the reader, to enable him to compare it with the differing word in the Revision. The text of W. and H. is substantially our text. We attempt no competition with that, as Prof. Forbes sarcastically intimates. Our text is not, therefore, "inferior to that of Alford, Tischendorf, or Westcott and Hort." It is that of

the latter, in which we have all the confidence expressed in our Introduction.

Here we make an explanation which accounts for several clerical errors pointed out by Prof. Forbes, on p. 215: words printed in italics to indicate that they are in S., or V., and not in W. and H., when the Greek equivalent *is* in W. and H. The fact is, the first crude form of our translation was made from the *Textus Receptus* before we knew that W. and H's Greek Testament was so soon to appear. On its appearance we revised our version, but in some unaccountable way failed to restore all the italicized words to Roman type. But the reader will observe that while this merely clerical error was committed, the strict accuracy of the translation is not in the least affected thereby, for the words are from W. and H. and the codices in question, instead of only from the codices, and so are properly translated from the Greek Text we professed to follow. The only error is that they should be in Roman type! Prof. Forbes sees in this "traces of haste and want of care." But he is as much mistaken in this as when he says we cannot have studied the three hundred pages which Dr. Hort devotes to a presentation of the problems and methods of textual criticism in Volume II. of W. and H's. Greek Testament, or Warfield's Essay, or Dr. Schaff's "Companion." Is not Prof. Forbes very presuming, not to say offensively presumptuous, to assume what, from the nature of the case, he could not know, if true, but what, in point of fact, he is entirely mistaken about? The attention Prof. Forbes names, the author not only has been willing to bestow, but has bestowed, and a vast deal besides, having consulted all the literature of which he has been able to hear, and having studied thoroughly the authorities that bear on the subject, as a more careful reader of "The New Covenant" than Prof. Forbes could not fail to discern.

Our QUARTERLY critic accuses us of giving to Sinaiticus an "undue weight," whatever that is. The proof is that in John xx. 31. we follow S. by adding in italics *æonian* to "life." This is not done to indicate any dissent from W. and H. in

their omission of the word, but to inform the reader that S. employs *æonian*, while other authorities omit it. So in Matt. xii. 30, John iii. 5, 31; iv. 24. There are many such cases, and it surely is an advantage for a version to contain the readings of the best of all the codices in italics, even if W. and H. on other, and no doubt adequate evidence, reject them. Printed in italics, they cannot mislead, and the reader can compare them with the Revised Version. How could a critic overlook the important features of "The New Covenant," and spend so much time on mere minor points?

A specimen of the hypercriticisms of Prof. Forbes is found on p. 217, where he says, "Luke i. 2, *ὑποτάται*, properly 'under-rowers,' then 'servants,' 'helpers,' 'assistants,' is rendered 'dispensers.' This is not translation; it is comment." Notwithstanding this assertion, any one can see that "an under-rower, servant, helper, or assistant" of the word, *is* a dispenser of the word, and certainly dispenser in "The New Covenant" is better than either of the other words to express Luke's thought.

Prof. Forbes objects to our use of "verified" instead of "fulfilled," as in the Established Version, and the Revised Version. Our own judgment is decidedly in favor of the former word; but the words are really synonymous in the cases contained in "The New Covenant." We direct Prof. Forbes to Milton's use of the term, to vindicate our employment of it:

"So shalt thou best *fulfill*, best *verify*
The prophets old."

ἵνα πληρωθῇ is properly either "that it may be fulfilled," or "that it may be verified."

Prof. Forbes is correct in his criticism of Luke ii. 2. Our attention had already been drawn to it. It should read, "This first enrollment, registry, or census occurred when (Kyrenius or) Quirinius was proconsul of Syria." But Prof. Forbes is inaccurate even here, for he says, "The whole translation *becomes (sic)* wrong. Not so. There are two inaccuracies in this statement: the translation does not *become* wrong, it is wrong if Prof. Forbes's position is correct, which it is not;

but the whole translation is not wrong, even admitting that what he claims is correct; the circumstance of time is not expressed by us as it ought to be, but "the whole translation is" not "wrong." The impression on the reader's mind is practically the same whether we say, "The enrollment was made by Quirinius, proconsul," or, "when Quirinius was proconsul."

And what can be more trifling and unfounded than such a criticism as this; "Luke x. 4. *σάκος* is rendered 'sachel,' elsewhere 'wallet,' once 'traveling-bag.'" What of it? Donnegan's definition of the word is "a leathern pouch for victuals, etc., a wallet, scrip, slung over the shoulders." Is it not apparent to any one that either of these definitions conveys the idea of the word? Webster says: "Wallet. Fr. *wallette*, *walette*, *valise*, wallet, a provision bag, Sp. *waleta*, a portmanteau, a bag in which clothes are carried on a journey. A bag or sack for carrying about the person, as a bag for carrying the necessaries for a journey, etc." "Sachel, a small sack or bag." Robinson says, "a bag, sack, wallet, Lat. *pera*, of leather, in which shepherds and travellers carried their provisions." Any one is certainly a traveling bag, and any one of the words is the equivalent of the others, and of the original. Instead of uniformly giving one definition of the word, we submit that it is a merit to give three, any one of which is equally accurate with the others. We devote so much space to this small item, not because of its importance, but in order to show how potty is the critique from which it is taken. Surely serious defects must be scarce when a critic can devote his entire attention to points so trifling.

Prof. Forbes pronounces inaccurate the statement on page vii. of our Introduction, that "only eight manuscripts, none older than the tenth century, were accessible in the days of King James," and says, "Codices Bezae and Claromontanus, both of the sixth century, were as early as 1582, in the possession of Beza, on whose authority (1598) the authors of the King James Version largely relied." But Bezae only contains the Gospels and the Acts, and so widely departs from the other MSS. that Beza did not use it at all. It also differs

from the other more ancient codices in containing the account of the woman taken in adultery, and a spurious passage following Luke vi. 4, nowhere else found. There are such important omissions, additions, mutilated leaves, glosses and interpolations in it, that Beza properly placed little reliance on it. Claromontanus is very defective, and only contains Paul's epistles. It has been badly altered. Of Codex Bezae Prof. Schaff says in his Companion, it "was written by a transcriber, ignorant of Greek," and "Beza did not use it on account of its many departures from other MSS. It is generally ranked with the great uncials, but it is the least valuable and trustworthy of them." And he quotes Dr. Tregelles as saying, "Its evidence, when alone, especially in additions, is of scarcely any value as to the general text." And Prof. Schaff says of Claromontanus: "The same remarks apply with little deduction." Were we not amply justified in excluding these two, and reckoning but eight MSS. as sources of the Established Version? Has Prof. Forbes "read Prof. Schaff's Companion?"

Besides: King James's translation is but little more than a revision, and reproduction of some of the 278 versions that preceded it, after the first (Genevan) Bible of 1560, most of which were substantially from the Latin Vulgate. We have personally examined English versions antedating King James's, particularly that of Laurence Tomson, 1576, itself a revision of the Bishop's Bible, and find them nearly word for word reproductions of the Bishop's Bible, and reproduced in King James's. The point we made was that King James's Version was reproduced from versions that were themselves not translated from the best MSS., but from a Latin version slightly compared with a few codices, and these modern and imperfect. If we admit what is not true, that there were ten instead of only eight MSS., including the two referred to, which really cut no figure in Beza's recension, our statement remains, as to the meagre sources of the Established Version, and Prof. Forbes's remark that our Introduction is "a generally accurate summary," stands.

We accept the correction of John iv. 35, with thanks. *οὐχ ἔμοις λέγεις* denotes a question, literally "Not you say?" and instead of "Do not say," we should have rendered it, "Say you not?" or "Do you not say?" But Prof. Forbes, in his next reference, shows how easy it is to blunder. He represents us as rendering Matt. xiii. 5, "though not having depth of earth;" while we translate the parallel, Mark iv. 6, the same original, "because it had not much earth." Now we say *through* instead of *though*, which makes the two parallels identical in meaning. This is the critic who talks of "accuracy," and who misreads a common word, and charges a blunder that he manufactures to the book he reviews! Whether we say, "through not having depth of earth," or, "because it had not much earth," or, "because of not having depth of earth," or "by reason of not having depth of earth," or, "because it had not a deep soil,"—any of the forms is accurate. It conveys the meaning of the Savior's words. If "though not having depth of earth," is nonsense, the nonsense is not manufactured by us. "The New Covenant" contains nothing of the sort. As the Professor's theme is "carelessness," may not this instance be classed as a pointed illustration of his subject?

The language of Luke xviii. 25 is objected to: "It is easier for a camel to perforate a needle's eye." The reference to this passage and its parallels enables us to show our readers a little of the sort of labor we have devoted to "The New Covenant." We think, ourself, that the rendering can be improved, and that the unique medical term employed by Matthew and Luke for "eye" or "hole," would be better made in English, as in Greek, the *noun*, instead of the *verb*, as we have too freely rendered it.

Mark says, *τρύμαλιός ραφίδος*, a hole of a needle.

Matthew says, *τρήματος ραφίδος*, a perforation of a needle.

Luke says, *τρήματος βελόνης*, a perforation of a surgical needle.

A strict rendering of Luke's *εὐκοπώτερον γὰρ ἐστὶν κάμηλον διὰ τρήματος βελόνης εἰσελθεῖν*, would be, "It is easier for a camel to enter in through a surgical needle's perforation." *τρήμα* is a

medical term, meaning any kind of a perforation in the body (misprinted "to perforate" in the note in "The New Covenant"). The words rendered "perforation" and "needle," are medical terms used by no other writer than Luke, except Matthew in xix. 24, who employs perforation. Dr. Hobart in his "The Medical Language of St. Luke," traces these terms through the ancient medical writers, and shows their meaning to be "perforation" and "surgical needle." It would not be strictly accurate to render Luke in the same words as Mark. In the old recensions similar terms were in the three synoptists, that is, the common terms for "eye" and "needle," but the more ancient codices from which W. and H. make their recension, record Luke as using technical medical terms for "needle" and "eye," and Matthew for "eye," and they add a link to the chain of proof that the MSS. they use are genuine. Luke was a physician. When we find medical terms employed in an alleged MS. by him, describing an event that the other synoptists describe in other, non-medical words, we find an interesting confirmation of the authenticity of his record. It is the strongest kind of circumstantial evidence (1) to prove that the three evangelists heard the conversation reported, inasmuch as all give the substance of it, while Luke, the physician, gives a medical man's report, and (2) to prove that the oldest codices are genuine, inasmuch as they differ from the more modern in this unexpected particular, just where they should differ.²

Considering that Prof. Forbes is Professor of Greek, this is the most astonishing objection he makes to our version: "The Greek idiom is not followed." How long since it was made proper in translation to transplant the idiom of a foreign language? To do so would be to render a translation almost or quite unintelligible to the ordinary reader. Suppose we try Prof. Forbes's theory. 1 Cor. xi. 18, "In yourselves judge you, decorous is it a woman uncovered to the God to pray?" or Matt. vi. 9, 10: "Father of us who in the heavens, hallowed

² Dr. Hobart errs in saying that Luke alone uses the medical term for the eye in the needle. In the old Greek Testaments the three synoptists use the common word for hole, but in W. and H. Matthew and Luke both employ the medical term.

the name of thee : let come the kingdom of thee," etc. Here we have the Greek idiom, but what sort of English is it ? Very much like "English as she is spoke." Such translating would compel one to render the German, *Ich habe sie gestern gesehen*, "I have you yesterday seen;" or *Wie befinden sie sich*, "How find you yourself?" It would be *very* literal, and would preserve the idiom, as Prof. Forbes desires, but such a translation would need to be translated. No doubt it is well for Prof. Forbes in his classes to teach his pupils to be exact and literal in translating, to accustom them to verbal accuracy, but only a merely technical grammarian would adopt such a method in translating a book, and even a first-class grammarian would be incapable of it. The rule adopted by all scholars, and illustrated in all good translations is to give the exact meaning of the original in the idiom of the language into which the version is rendered, and not in the idiom of the original. The retention of the Greek idiom in the Revised Version has been one of the principal faults brought against it by scholars.

J. W. Hanson, D.D.

[To be concluded in the January Number.]

GENERAL REVIEW.

Are We Outgrowing Religion?

MANY of the religious journals are taking notice of the fact that even professed Christians and many nominal believers are absenting themselves from the place of public worship, and manifesting very little interest in the institutions of Religion. In the secular press, on the platform, and on the streets, this fact is also brought to our notice by a very different class, who, instead of regarding it as a calamity, consider it as an indication that the world has outgrown the Bible, and can dispense with the Gospel. To them the small and irregular attendance on religious worship is sure proof that Church service is felt to be unprofitable, and is becoming obsolete. Theological unrest, manifest in open protest, and in more quiet but not less sure drifting

away from old dogmas, is popularly supposed to be a forsaking of the very foundations of religion itself, a giving up of all hold upon spiritual realities.

But these are mistaken judgments. They are based on the unwarranted assumption that a temporary diversion from religious interests is a permanent revolt against them; that the abandonment of false notions which, in times of religious ignorance and bigotry, were foisted on the Christian Religion, is an abandonment of the Gospel itself. Nothing can be farther from the truth. Religion gains when anything that renders it harsh and unlovely, no matter how long it may have been associated with it, is abandoned and renounced. It is most efficient as it becomes most kindly and beautiful.

Temporary diversion from religious interests is no new thing, but in greater or less degree has been manifest not unfrequently in the past, and has sometimes occasioned great alarm. A variety of causes have accounted for it, both here and in other lands. A notable instance of this kind in the history of France was called out by the assumptions of a corrupt priesthood, seeking to stifle the voice of reason and to forbid its use in matters of religion. In consequence churches were deserted, God was declared, by act of legislation, to be unreal; the Sabbath was abolished, and the week was protracted to ten days, that business and labor might take the place of the seventh day rest and worship. But it was not long before nature in man revolted. The week came back. The Sabbath, used for a time for gatherings where songs were sung, and addresses made in praise of Reason, gradually became again the day of rest and worship.

At the close of the war for Independence, in this country, the churches of New England were well-nigh deserted, partly on account of the demoralization attendant on and following all war, but chiefly in consequence of a natural reaction against the horrors of Calvinism. But a protest against error did not destroy the soul's longing for religious truth; and the Methodist movement was warmly seconded by hundreds who had revolted from the horrible decrees, while the planting of Universalism by Murray and Winchester enlisted the love and zeal of others.

Possibly the present indifference to religious interests, especially manifest in the total desertion of Christian churches by some, and the irregular attendance of many others, may be of the nature of a reaction against a mistaken claim that public worship is an end, rather than a means. It would not be surprising to know that the keen dis-

cernment of this false claim had turned aside some whose judgment has correctly taught them that forms and professions amount to little or nothing when so administered and presented as to convey the thought that they are a finality in themselves.

It is probable, however, that while this may account for some instances of the neglect of public worship, we must look elsewhere for the more general reason. It is our opinion that secularism, using the word in its broadest sense, as including devotion to the things of this world only, in all their degrees of good and bad, accounts most largely for the present state of things. The things which are seen and can be handled are regarded by many as the only realities of the universe; and whether they are pleasure or gain, attainment in worldly knowledge, or the gratification of ambition in securing preferment among men, or whatever else may engage attention and effort for immediate use, profit or enjoyment, these are esteemed of more account than any of the instrumentalities of religion, or even than religion itself, which is regarded as but a speculation concerning the unknown.

The drift and tendency of this at its best is to engross human thought and ambition in acquisitions of intellectual knowledge concerning the universe as merely a material organization, and the actors upon it as but creatures of a day, whose achievements will outlast themselves. At its worst, its tendencies are to sacrifice everything to personal ambitions for gain, place or pleasure. With these as the end, all means are justifiable in securing it. Hence as the shortest road to the end, the element of gambling is put into trade, trickery, deceit and corruption into politics, the immorality of a traffic is no bar to its prosecution, the claims of humanity are of no account as weighed against the enrichment of self.

But the man who cheats himself by this illusion, emptying his heart of the noblest motives, and stifling the grandest springs of action, must, even in the midst of his career, be conscious that he has provided for only a small fraction of himself; and as the number of kindred spirits animated by the same purpose increases around him, can contemplate with horror the public tendencies of such theories and efforts, alike in the body politic, as they dwarf statesmanship to mere political cunning, exchange patriotism to mere party strife for office, and annihilate principles for the sake of success; and in the narrower circles where he has placed his abode, fill all the paths to and from his home with pitfalls for entrapping his own children, invite licentiousness as an ally of intemperance, and at last render even posses-

sions insecure, or, if they remain, powerless to ward off or even to mitigate the evils which mere secularism has invited and clothed with power to enslave and degrade us.

Concede, if we must, that the things which make their chief appeal to the spirit that dwells within us, the things of religious faith, duty, and hope, must come out of the catalogue of things that are known, seen, and can be handled; say, if we will, that the spirit itself cannot be thought of as at all different and distinct from the body which it inhabits, and that all our religious theories are therefore but speculations concerning the unseen, we must even then concede, if we are at all thoughtful and wise, that this intangible thing, these unseen forces, these speculative theories, develop the best manhood, making self subordinate to the good of others, secure the most reliable statesmanship, enrich the nation, build up the safest and happiest communities, and put the most joy and peace into our homes.

What a paradox is this! In the presence of such a force, luminous in all history, and especially conspicuous in the planting and establishment of American Nationality; unmistakably witnessed in the career of those who have made the earth better and more glad by their having lived on it; and appealing to our own hearts as able to work out for us the most perfect life, how can we do other than say with the great Apostle, that in spite of all seeming, "the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal."

To this conclusion we must come. There is no other possible to us if we are conscious of having anything within us that earthly gifts and attainments fail to satisfy. And this consciousness we cannot deny. Settle it in our minds if we may and must, that forces operating in the universe, and laws and principles manifest in material things, account for the order and harmony of the world around us, and are of themselves sufficient to denote the origin of all vegetable and animal life, yet we have thus done nothing towards stifling the soul's cry for the living God, and meeting those needs within us which are as real as bodily hunger and thirst. Call it superstition if we will, the opprobrious epithet does not destroy the fact that man cannot live by bread alone, but needs the Revelation of God and His message of love and tenderness.

In one of the most wonderful books recently published, "Natural Law in the Spiritual World, by Henry Drummond," — noticed in *Contemporary Literature* in this number — is a suggestive chapter entitled "Environment," in which it is shown by great force and

beauty of diction, that all life depends on something outside of itself, on which it must draw for sustenance. This law, he says, applies to spiritual life, as well as to physical and intellectual life. As Nature forms the complement of the natural life, God is the complement of the spiritual. And he says :

“ The proof of this ? That Nature is not more natural to my body than God is to my soul. Every animal and plant has its own Environment. And the further one inquires into the relations of the one to the other, the more one sees the marvellous intricacy and beauty of the adjustments. These wonderful adaptations of each organism to its surroundings — of the fish to the water, of the eagle to the air, of the insect to the forest-bed ; and of each part of every organism — the fish's swim-bladder, the eagle's eye, the insect's breathing tubes — which the old argument from design brought home to us with such enthusiasm, inspire us still with a sense of the boundless resource and skill of Nature in perfecting her arrangements for each single life. Down to the last detail the world is made for what is in it ; and by whatever process things are as they are, all organisms find in surrounding Nature the ample complement of themselves. Man, too, finds in his Environment provision for all capacities, scope for the exercise of every faculty, room for the indulgence of each appetite, a just supply for every want. So the spiritual man at the apex of the pyramid of life finds in the vaster range of his Environment a provision, as much higher, it is true, as he is higher, but as delicately adjusted to his varying needs. And all this is supplied to him just as the lower organisms are ministered to by the lower environment, in the same simple ways, in the same constant sequence, as appropriately and as lavishly. We fail to praise the ceaseless ministry of the great inanimate world around us, only because its kindness is unobtrusive. Nature is always noiseless. All her greatest gifts are given in secret. And we forget how truly every good and perfect gift comes from without and from above, because no pause in her changeless beneficence teaches us the sad lessons of deprivation.

“ It is not a strange thing, then, for the soul to find its life in God. This is its native air. God as the Environment of the soul, has been from the remotest age, the doctrine of all the deepest thinkers in religion. How profoundly Hebrew poetry is saturated with this high thought will appear when we try to conceive of it with this left out. True poetry is only science in another form. And long before it was possible for religion to give scientific expression to its greatest truths, men of insight uttered themselves in psalms which could not have been truer to Nature had the more modern light controlled the inspiration. ‘ As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after Thee, O God.’ What fine sense of the analogy of the natural and the spiritual does not underlie these words ! As the hart after its Environment, so man after his ; as the water-brooks are fitly designed to meet the natural wants, so fitly does God implement the

spiritual need of man. It will be noticed that in the Hebrew poets the longing for God never strikes one as morbid, or unnatural to the men who uttered it. It is as natural to them to long for God as for the swallow to seek her nest. Throughout all their images no suspicion rises within us that they are exaggerating. We feel how truly they are reading themselves, their deepest selves. No false note occurs in all their aspiration. There is no weariness even in their ceaseless sighing, except the lover's weariness for the absent—if they would fly away, it is only to be at rest. Men who have no soul can only wonder at this. Men who have a soul, but with little faith, can only envy it. How joyous a thing it was to the Hebrews to seek their God! How artlessly they call upon Him to entertain them in His pavilion, to cover them with His feathers, to hide them in His secret place, to hold them in the hollow of His hand, or stretch around them the everlasting arms! These men were true children of Nature. As the humming-bird among its own palm-trees, as the ephemera in the sunshine of a summer evening, so they lived their joyous lives. And even the full share of the sadder experiences of life which came to all of them, but drove them the further into the Secret Place, and led them with more consecration to make, as they expressed it, 'the Lord their portion.' All that has been said since, from Marcus Aurelius to Swedenborg, from Augustine to Schleiermacher, of a besetting God as the final complement of humanity, is but a repetition of the Hebrew poets' faith. And even the New Testament has nothing higher to offer man than this. The psalmist's 'God is our refuge and strength,' is only the earlier form, less defined, less practicable, but not less noble, of Christ's 'Come unto Me, and I will give you rest.'

"There is a brief phrase of Paul's which defines the relation with almost scientific accuracy, 'Ye are complete in Him.' In this is summed up the whole of the Bible anthropology—the completeness of man in God, his incompleteness apart from God.

"If it be asked, In what is man incomplete, or, In what does God complete him? the question is a wide one. But it may serve to show at least the direction in which the Divine Environment forms the complement of human life if we ask ourselves once more what it is in life that needs complementing. And to this question we receive the significant answer that it is in the higher departments alone, or mainly, that the incompleteness of our life appears. The lower departments of Nature are already complete enough. The world itself is about as good a world as might be. It has been long in the making, its furniture is all in, its laws are in perfect working order; and although wise men at various times have suggested improvements, there is on the whole a tolerably unanimous vote of confidence in things as they exist. The Divine Environment has little more to do for this planet so far as we can see, and so far as the existing generation is concerned. Then the lower organic life of the world is also so far complete. God, through Evolution or otherwise, may still have finishing touches to add here and there, but already it is 'all very good.' It is difficult to conceive anything better of its kind than a lily or a cedar, an ant or

ant-eater. These organisms, so far as we can judge, lack nothing. It might be said of them, 'they are complete in Nature.' Of man also, of man the animal, it may be affirmed that his Environment satisfies him. He has food and drink, and good food and good drink. And there is in him no purely animal want which is not really provided for, and that apparently in the happiest possible way.

"But the moment we pass beyond the mere animal life we begin to come upon an incompleteness. The symptoms at first are slight, and betray themselves only by an unexplained restlessness or a dull sense of want. Then the feverishness increases, becomes more defined, and passes slowly into abiding pain. To some come darker moments when the unrest deepens into a mental agony of which all the other woes of earth are mockeries — moments when the forsaken soul can only cry in terror for the Living God. Up to a point the natural Environment supplies man's wants, beyond that it only derides him. How much in man lies beyond that point? Very much — almost all, all that makes man man. The first suspicion of the terrible truth — so for the time let us call it — awakens with the dawn of the intellectual life. It is a solemn moment when the slow-moving mind reaches at length the verge of its mental horizon, and, looking over, sees nothing more. Its straining makes the abyss but more profound. Its cry comes back without an echo. Where is the Environment to complete this rational soul. Men either find one, — *One* — or spend the rest of their days in trying to shut their eyes. The alternatives of the intellectual life are Christianity or Agnosticism. The Agnostic is right when he trumpets his incompleteness. He who is not complete in Him must be forever incomplete. Still more grave becomes man's case when he begins further to explore his moral and social nature. The problems of the heart and conscience are infinitely more perplexing than those of the intellect. Has love no future? Has right no triumph? Is the unfinished self to remain unfinished? Again, the alternatives are two, Christianity or Pessimism. But when we ascend the further height of the religious nature the crisis comes. There, without Environment, the darkness is unutterable. So maddening now becomes the mystery that men are compelled to construct an Environment for themselves. No Environment here is unthinkable. An altar of some sort men must have — God, or Nature, or Law. But the anguish of Atheism is only a negative proof of man's incompleteness. A witness more overwhelming is the prayer of the Christian. What a very strange thing, is it not, for man to pray? It is the symbol at once of his littleness and of his greatness. Here the sense of imperfection, controlled and silenced in the narrower reaches of his being, becomes audible. Now he must utter himself. The sense of need is so real, and the sense of Environment, that he calls out to it, addressing it articulately, and imploring it to satisfy his need. Surely there is nothing more touching in Nature than this. Man could never so expose himself, so break through all constraint, except from a dire necessity. It is the suddenness and unpremeditatedness of Prayer that gives it unique value as an apologetic.

"Man has three questions to put to his Environment, three symbols of his incompleteness. They come from three different centres of his being. The first is the question of the intellect, What is Truth? The natural Environment answers, 'Increase of knowledge increaseth sorrow,' and 'Much study is a weariness.' Christ replies, 'Learn of Me, and ye shall find rest.' Contrast the world's 'weariness' with Christ's word, 'rest' No other teacher since the world began has ever associated 'learn' with 'rest.' Learn of me, says the philosopher, and you shall find Restlessness. Learn of Me, says Christ, and ye shall find Rest. Thought, which the godless man has cursed, that eternally starved yet ever living spectre, finds at last its imperishable glory. Thought is complete in Him. The second question is sent up from the moral nature, Who will show us any good? And again we have a contrast: the world's verdict, 'There is none that doeth good, no, not one;' and Christ's 'There is none good but God only.' And, finally, there is the lonely cry of the spirit, most pathetic and most deep of all, Where is he whom my soul seeketh? And the yearning is met as before, 'I looked on my right hand, and beheld, but there was no man that would know me; refuge failed me; no man cared for my soul. I cried unto Thee, O Lord: I said, Thou art my refuge and my portion in the land of the living.'

"Are these the directions in which men in these days are seeking to complete their lives? The completion of Life is just now a supreme question. It is important to observe how it is being answered. If we ask Science or Philosophy, they will refer us to Evolution. The struggle for Life, they assure us, is steadily eliminating imperfect forms, and as the fittest continue to survive we shall have a gradual perfecting of being. That is to say, that completeness is to be sought for in the organism — we are to be complete in Nature and in ourselves. To Evolution certainly all men will look for a further perfecting of Life. But it must be an Evolution which includes all the factors. Civilization, it may be said, will deal with the second factor. It will improve the Environment step by step as it improves the organism, or the organism as it improves the Environment. This is well, and it will perfect Life up to a point. But beyond that it cannot carry us. As the possibilities of the natural Life become more defined, its impossibilities will become more appalling. The most perfect civilization would leave the best part of us still incomplete. Man will have to give up the experiment of attempting to live in half an Environment. Half an Environment will give but half a Life. Half an Environment? He whose correspondences are with this world alone has only a thousandth part, a fraction, the mere rim and shade of an Environment, and only the fraction of a Life. How long will it take Science to believe its own creed, that the material universe we see around us is only a fragment of the universe we do not see? The very retention of the phrase 'material universe,' we are told is the confession of our unbelief and ignorance; since 'matter is the less important half of the material of the physical universe.'

"The thing to be aimed at is not an organism self-contained and

self-sufficient, however high in the scale of being, but an organism complete in the whole Environment. It is open to any one to aim at a self-sufficient life, but he will find no encouragement in Nature. The life of the body may complete itself in the physical world; that is its legitimate Environment. The life of the senses, high and low, may perfect itself in Nature. Even the life of thought may find a large complement in surrounding things. But the higher thought, and the conscience, and the religious life, can only perfect themselves in God. To make the influence of Environment stop with the natural world is to doom the spiritual nature to death. For the soul, like the body, can never perfect itself in isolation. The law for both is to be complete in the appropriate Environment. And the perfection to be sought in the spiritual world is a perfection of relation, a perfect adjustment of that which is becoming perfect to that which is perfect.

"The third problem, now simplified to a point, finally presents itself. Where do Organism and Environment meet? How does that which is becoming perfect avail itself of its perfecting Environment? And the answer is, Just as in Nature. The condition is simple receptivity. And yet this is perhaps the least simple of all conditions. It is so simple that we will not act upon it. But there is no other condition. Christ has condensed the whole truth into one memorable sentence, 'As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself except it abide in the vine, no more can ye except ye abide in Me.' And on the positive side, 'He that abideth in Me the same bringeth forth much fruit,'"

We offer no apology for introducing this lengthy quotation. Its pertinence to the theme we are considering is its justification. The Religious Faculty in man is not artificial but inborn; it is not fanciful, but real; and its demands are as imperative as are the demands of the body for food and shelter. In the very nature of things, therefore, no temporary revolt against or abandonment of the instrumentalities of religion can be permanent. Man cannot outgrow the necessity of providing for the satisfaction of those functions of his being which constitute his highest glory, — his alliance with God, and the attainment of perfection. "O God," said Augustine, "Thou awakest us to delight in Thy praise; for Thou makest us for Thyself, and our heart is restless until it find rest in Thee." All experience confirms the truth of this declaration: and we have, therefore, the best possible reason for believing that a reaction against present indifference to religion and neglect of its ordinances must come.

Even the present outlook, compared with the conditions existing in former days, is far from being as hopeless as many imagine it to be. When we came out of the War for our Independence, with a population of three millions, the proportion of those who had made a profession of Christian faith, was to the whole number of citizens as one

to fifteen ; now, with our fifty-five millions, it is as one to five. Let not appearances, then, make us pessimistic. The soul is made for God, and God for the soul, and in the very nature of the case, nature must revolt against indifference to the Gospel, God's best and highest display of Himself to man.

Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead.

THE agitation produced in the Church of England on the occasion of the approval of the Service of the Holy Communion for the soul of Dr. Pusey, by Dr. Magee, bishop of Peterborough, has been renewed with increasing vigor since the death of the Princess Alice. On the former occasion nearly all the participants in the discussion confessed belief in the common doctrine of probation, and were hampered by it in their attempts to justify their *Prayers for the Dead*. In the present defence of such *Prayers*, the doctrine of probation is wholly ignored by many, and emphatically denied by others. In both instances a clear distinction is made between the Protestant idea of the Future, and the office of prayer for those who have passed into it, and the Purgatory of the Roman Church and the purpose of its prayers for the dead. If the distinction is real, many Protestants will rejoice, many mourners will find comfort in the thought that in sending their "fond endearments o'er the grave," they are not to be rebuked for the desires and prayers for the departed which dwell in their hearts and rise to their lips.

We call the attention of our readers to what has so far been produced on this subject by Episcopal writers, and to a few historical facts with regard to the doctrine of Purgatory.

In the case of Dr. Pusey, a protest against the special commemorative service above mentioned, was made to the Bishop of Peterborough, by members of the Church, in which Romanism was charged against the clergyman who proposed to administer the service. To this the Bishop replied :

" Prayers for the dead are not necessarily a Roman rite, nor does their use necessarily imply belief in any Roman doctrine, still less membership in the Church of Rome. There is a doctrine respecting the state of departed souls, and there are prayers for these, founded on that doctrine, which are distinctly Roman—namely, the doctrine that the souls of the faithful pass through the cleansing fires of purgatory, and that remission of these pains may be obtained for them by masses and prayers offered in their behalf by the faithful on earth. This our Church distinctly condemns in her Articles.

"On the other hand, there is a doctrine as to the state of the faithful departed, and there are prayers for them founded on that doctrine, which are not Roman but primitive, and which our Church has never condemned. The belief was undoubtedly general in the early Church, that the souls of the faithful, though free from all suffering, were capable, while awaiting their final consummation and bliss, of a progress in holiness and happiness, and that prayers for such progress might therefore lawfully be made in their behalf by the Church on earth. Accordingly, prayers for the "rest and refreshment of the departed" abound in the early Liturgies of the Church, and especially in connection with the celebration of the Holy Communion. To say, therefore, that such prayers imply a belief in Roman doctrine, and that a clergyman who invites his congregation to offer them must therefore be a member of the Church of Rome, is not only unjust and uncharitable as regards him, but also as regards the controversy with Rome, extremely rash and unwise. We cannot afford to make a present to the Church of Rome of nearly all the early Fathers, nor of the ages of the Church which they represent. Nor can we safely give her so great a help in the controversy with us as to identify her doctrine of purgatory and masses for the dead with the doctrine of the early Church as to the intermediate state, and the primitive commemorations in the Eucharist of the faithful departed."

The Rev. Dr. Forbes, late Bishop of Brechin, argues that Prayers for the Dead are prompted by an instinctive feeling. He says (Explanation of Articles, vol. ii. p. 311):

"The true doctrine, of which the opinion condemned in our Article XXII. (the *Romish* doctrine of purgatory) is an exaggeration, is founded on the tenderest and deepest sympathies of our common human nature. Mankind will not endure the thought that at the moment of death all concern for those loved ones who are riven from us by death comes to an end. We firmly resist the heathen notion, which the inverted torch and the broken column symbolize, that henceforth they are nothing to us or we to them; nay, we go so far as to say that though death puts an end to man's *probation*, so far as he is concerned, yet that Infinite Love pursues the soul beyond the grave, and there has dealings with it, in which we who survive have still our co-operation."

Bishop Heber, not only argued, according to Dr. Lee (Christian Doctrine of Prayers for the Departed, p. 179, n.), the naturalness of Prayers for the Dead, but avowed that it was his practice to offer such prayers. "Having been led," the Bishop says in reply to one who had asked his judgment, "attentively to consider the question, my own opinion is on the whole favorable to this practice, which indeed is so natural and so comfortable, that this alone is a presumption that it is neither displeasing to the Almighty nor unavailing with Him."

And he goes on to say ; " I have accordingly been myself in the habit for some years of recommending on some occasions, as after receiving the Sacrament, my lost friends by name to God's goodness and compassion through His Son, as what can do them no harm, and *may*, and I hope *will*, be of service to them."

It is a well known fact that such prayers are not only allowed, but prescribed among the modern Jews, and there is evidence of their pre-Christian use. Passing by all questions as to the exact date of various Hebrew Liturgical works, an incident recorded in II. Maccabees xii. 39, etc., written B.C. 164, shows that the habit of praying for the dead had become widespread and general. In burying the bodies of Jews who had been slain during an encounter with their enemies, Judas Maccabeus found concealed upon their persons things consecrated to idolatrous worship. Judas and his company, we are told, perceiving that this was the cause why their brethren had been slain, " Betook themselves unto prayer, and besought Him, that the sin committed might wholly be put out of remembrance. Besides, that noble Judas exhorted the people to keep themselves from sin, inasmuch as they saw before their eyes the things that came to pass for the sins of those that were slain. And when he had made a gathering throughout the company, to the sum of two thousand drachmas of silver, he sent it to Jerusalem to offer a sin-offering, doing therein very well, and honestly, in that he was mindful of the resurrection, (For if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead) ; and also in that he perceived that there was great favor laid up for those that died godly. (It was an holy and good thought.) Whereupon he made a reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin."

Bishop Jeremy Taylor says Prayers for the Dead were a customary part of Jewish Devotions, and he argues that as Jesus often took part in the services of the Synagogue and Temple, his silence on this portion of the ritual makes a strong argument in its favor. In " Dissuasive from Popery," I., i. 4, he says ;

" We find by the history of the Maccabees that the Jews did pray and made offerings for the dead, which also appears by other testimonies, and by their forms of prayer still extant, which they used in the Captivity. Now it is very considerable, that given our Blessed Lord did reprove all the evil doctrines and traditions of the Scribes and Pharisees, and did argue concerning the dead and the resurrection against the Sadducees, yet He spake no word against this public practice, but left it as He found it ; which He Who came to declare to us

all the will of the Father would not have done if it had not been innocent, pious, and full of charity."

Coming to the testimony of the Fathers, the scholars in the Church of England at once refer to those passages in St. Augustine's "Confessions" in which he tells us of his mother's earnest desire to be remembered continually at the altar, while she cared not where her body should be laid; and how he speaks in the most natural way, as of an ordinary funeral custom, of "the Sacrifice of our Ransom being offered for her, *as the manner is*," previous to laying the corpse in the ground; and again, how at the end of that affecting narrative he prays, "May she rest in peace with her husband; . . . and inspire, O Lord my God, inspire Thy servants my brethren, Thy sons my masters, . . . that so many as shall read these confessions may at Thy altar remember Monica Thy handmaid, with Patricius her sometime husband, . . . that so my mother's last request of me may through my confessions more than through my prayers be, through the prayers of many, more abundantly fulfilled to her,"

Not to particularize others of the Fathers, it will suffice to introduce here Wheatley's summary of their teachings on this subject, in his "Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer:"

"They all agreed, in this that the interval between death and the end of the world is a state of expectation and imperfect bliss, in which the souls of the righteous wait for the completion and perfection of their happiness at the consummation of all things; and, therefore, whilst they were praying for the Catholic Church, they thought it not improper to add a petition on behalf of that larger and better part of it which had gone before them, that they might altogether attain a blessed and glorious resurrection, and be brought at last to a perfect fruition of happiness in heaven. By this means they testified their love and respect for the dead, declared their belief in the communion of saints, and kept up in themselves a lively sense of the soul's immortality."

The oldest Liturgies are known to have contained Prayers for the Dead; and so, too, the various early editions of the English Prayer Book. And John Wesley, it is said, having thus prayed, answered those who challenged his practice, that such prayers were perfectly justifiable according "to the earliest antiquity and the Church of England."

The more recent discussion of this subject in England has brought out an article in the *Fortnightly* for July, concerning which, and all that it covers, the *London Spectator* says that it touches a weak arti-

cle in the theology of some of the Reformed Churches, — namely, the condemnation of prayers for the dead. Says the *Spectator* :

"This has always seemed to us to admit of only one kind of justification, and that a justification which it cannot plead, — we mean the plea that the condition of the dead is unchangeable, that by death they are turned, as it were, to stone. The Princess records in one of her letters, after the loss of her youngest boy, that the eldest 'always prays for Frittie;' and as Mr. MacColl justly remarks, this is simply natural, and is even shown to be so by the practice of the unsophisticated child. Mr. MacColl declares that 'to forbid prayers for the dead is to undermine the doctrine of prayers for the living.' And there we agree with him most completely, since the dead, if their spirits are what they were at all, cannot be unchangeable, cannot be beyond the power of God, cannot be beyond the reach of prayer. Of course we know the sort of ground on which prayers for the dead have been held to be superstitious and heretical. This is held by those who think that "probation" is strictly limited to this life, and that an alternative of absolute blessedness or absolute misery is hereafter certain. Such persons hold that the habit of praying for the dead cannot be innocent, since it must take the form either of a prayer for what is already granted, — which implies distrust of God, — or else a prayer for what is already refused, which implies rebellion of heart against Him. The answer, of course, is that we have no assurance in Revelation that probation is absolutely limited by this life for all alike; — the subject is not even explicitly dealt with in the New Testament. And even if that were so, and nothing seems more unlikely, none the less we could not be in any way assured that the states of those who are beyond the veil is unchangeable, that the blessedness of those who are blessed admits of no increase, and the misery of those who are miserable of no decrease. Except in the presence of a positive divine revelation to the contrary — of which no one even pretends to produce evidence — the natural assumption is, that whatever prayer tends to do for one who is living on earth, it equally tends to do for one who is living in the stage beyond. As Mr. MacColl says, those who make light of the efficacy of prayers for the dead are in a fair way to make light of the efficacy of prayers for the living. If it is argued that they are useless because God may be absolutely trusted to do the best for the dead, without our prayers, why that applies just as much to the living as to the dead. And if it is argued that after death their state is so absolutely unalterable that no prayers can avail them anything, the natural inference is that long before death that crystallization of their destiny must have set in which turned to petrification afterwards. If the positive instruction to pray for each other is to apply to this life only, why was it not carefully limited to the domain of this life by those who taught us to pray? Is it not obvious that what was intended was to foster in man's heart the habit of pouring forth all his desires and wants freely to God? And if those desires and wants do not stop short at the grave, if they affect

as much those who have passed beyond it, as those who are on this side of it, it can be nothing but the most artificial and unnatural of arrangements to teach us to divide our desires into two strictly separated classes, of which those belonging to one are never again to be breathed to God, while those belonging to the other are to be poured forth with all the old fervor. What teaching could be better adapted to make the invisible world unreal to us than this complete ignoring, in our intercourse with God, of all the affections which connect us with the world beyond — this sedulous restraining of our thoughts to those who are still with us in the visible frame of things? If men once ignore the dead in their prayers those who are gone will become dead to them in a quite new sense, — nay, the world of the highest life will become dead to them also. As it is the very highest effect of prayer to connect the unseen with the seen world, and to convince men that God has regard to the spirit, nothing seems to us more fatal to that highest use of prayer than to represent it as strictly limited in its scope to those who are still with us, and entirely without possible result on those who are gone from us. How could the conception of 'the whole family in heaven and earth' be a true one, if the members of it who are on one side of the grave may properly pray only for those who are on the same side as themselves, but should treat those who are on the other side of it as beyond the range even of their intercessions? That is not one family, half of which may not even pray to God for blessings on the other half.

"The horror felt of prayers for the dead in some theological circles is justified, we believe, by the argument that, if once we begin to think of the condition of any one who is beyond the grave as changeable at all, we shall get into the habit of thinking that even if we are as evil and selfish as we please in this life, even if we delay repentance till after all the evil enjoyments of life have been exhausted, we may yet rescue ourselves, or be rescued by others, from that misery we deserve, by change of heart in the world beyond. But the true answer to this is, not to assume a single arbitrary point like the moment of death, as the point when change for all alike becomes hopeless, — a doctrine which seems to us as little founded in Scripture as it is in the evidence of human nature, — but to show that whether on this side of the grave or on the other, a character once matured is so obstinate in its habits, so difficult to change, so moulded by its own former acts of choice, that the hope of any sudden revolution in its tastes and preferences is far more of a dream than of a reasonable expectation. It simply cannot be that a child who dies at ten or twelve has a character as formed as a man who lives to fifty or sixty; and if so, even the selfish child who dies at ten or twelve must be much more open to the higher spiritual influences which affect the next life than the man who lives to fifty or sixty, after a long career of steady resistance to those spiritual influences, can be conceived to be. The true teaching surely is, that prayer for others can never hurt, and may often help them; but that it can never help as much those who have set the grain of their own characters steadfastly against doing that for which we pray

on their behalf, as it can those who are yet in the stage of growth in which every influence tells. Prayer for those who, with numberless faults, have died young, must, we should think, always be far more hopeful than prayer for those who, though they are still living, are living with all their faults hardened into the rigidity of habitual sins. Neither prayer may be wasted; both may do good; but the reasonable thing certainly is to hope more from the prayer for those—whether living or dead,—who are not yet confirmed in evil, than for those, whether living or dead, who are so confirmed. It is not death that makes the difference. If the earnest prayer of a good man avails much, it yet avails more for those who have not hardened their hearts against the drift of such a prayer, than for those who have; and this even though he who is so hardening his heart to the influence of such prayers be still in the body, while he who is opening his heart to the influence of such prayers has been delivered from the burden of the flesh. It is not death which makes the difference, it is the life of him for whom the prayer is breathed. On the life which is growing more and more intractable to such prayers, whether it be embodied or disembodied, the prayer can have little effect, just as a touch will have but little effect on the course of a landslip. On the life which is growing more and more sensitive to the influence of such prayers, whether it be embodied or disembodied, a prayer may have, under the providence of God, great effect, and may even form the turning-point of a career. But that is a doctrine which does not open any very sanguine hope of the effect of intercessory prayer on the future of those who have used ill a long probation here, though it may open much hope of the effect of prayer on those who have had here the mere shadow of a probation, with hardly any experience of the fascination of good, and with the fullest experience of the attractions of evil.

“But the great danger of forbidding prayers for the dead is, as Mr. MacColl says, that it must tend to discourage prayer altogether. If the heart may not pour itself out to God freely, it will soon cease to pour itself out at all. And clearly it cannot pour itself out freely unless it can say its say about both worlds, about those who are wholly in the one world, as well as about those whose life is partly in the one and partly in the other. ‘Where the treasure is, there will the heart be also;’ and if the treasure is in the other world, to forbid the heart to be there too is fatal. And how can any one pray to God except for that for which his whole heart craves?”

Notwithstanding the comforting thought that death has not destroyed our interest in those who have passed to the immortal shore, and that there is great peace in the assurance that they are still at the disposal of the All-Loving God, many Protestants, even of the most liberal school, shrink from the thought of Prayer for the Dead, because they at once associate with it the thought of the Roman Catholic doctrine of Purgatory. But the association is neither necessary

nor wise. The original thought of moral aid for the dead is a Greek and not a Latin thought, and its Christian development among the Church Fathers was not at all in the direction in which it was established by the Papal Council of Florence, in 1439. The Gnostics first advanced as a Christian doctrine the theory substantially of Plato, that souls are a part of the Divine Nature, but in the body are as in a prison ; and even after separation from mortal bodies, have so many taints of sin and impurity acquired from contact with the body, that they are feeble and sick. The soul cannot, then, immediately on leaving the body, return to its original source, but must be subject to purification through remedial agencies, as water, air, and fire. Clement and Origen adopted the basal principle of this theory, and made it a fundamental in their teachings, a century before it became known to, or at least partially accepted by, the Latin church. That Church limits all future purification to those who were saints here upon the earth, but who must suffer hereafter as an atonement for sins which do not deserve eternal damnation, — Christ having vicariously suffered for these, — but yet which deserve the severity though not the duration of the pains of hell.

The differences between the Greek and the Latin thought are chiefly these, — first, according to Origen, all souls, without exception, are subjected to purification, although some need it much more than others. But, according to the Romish doctrine, those only go into purgatory who, though they have been baptized and believe, are not of perfect virtue. Secondly. According to Origen the whole design of the discipline after death is to promote the moral improvement and perfection of souls ; but according to Romanism, sufferings in purgatory are designed to make atonement and expiation for sin.

That the best souls are imperfect, no one can doubt. That the worst are worth saving is a fundamental doctrine of the Gospel. What reason have we to suppose that the death of the body of itself works a change in the one, or alters the value of the other ? If at once, in a mere instant of time, a revolution in character is wrought in all, who should object ? If, as seems more in conformity with what is known of purification and moral improvement here, remedial agencies work slowly, there as here, spiritual aid will be needed. In either case, since the living are interested in the dead, some most deeply so, and since in thought they remain a part of our own life, why may we not commend them to the loving care of Our Heavenly Father ?

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. *The Proofs of Christ's Resurrection, from a Lawyer's Standpoint.* By Charles B. Morrison. Andover. Warren F. Draper. 8vo. pp. 155. \$1.00.

Until recently attacks on the New Testament account of the Resurrection of Jesus were claimed to have been made in the interest of the integrity of the Gospels. One of the best refutations of these attacks was that of Bishop Sherlock: "The Tryal of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus;" in which the arguments pro and con were argued in legal form, and the case was summed up by an impartial judge and submitted to the verdict of a jury. To-day the ground of attack has been shifted, and it is claimed, and strange enough, by some professed Christian ministers, that we have no reliable record of what Jesus taught and did; that the fact of his Resurrection rests on pretended evidence which no court of law would for a moment listen to, and that to quote the Gospels on this subject is to appeal to a record lacking authenticity.

To this state of the skeptical argument Mr. Morrison addresses himself in a calm, unimpassioned, and judicial manner, and by strict adherence to well-established rules and maxims on the nature of evidence and its proper weight, presents us with a compact and thoroughly reliable account of the principal historical facts respecting the authenticity and integrity of the New Testament record. And his conclusion, which we are confident will also be the conclusion of the readers of his argument, is that this vital fact of Christ's Resurrection is as susceptible of proof from undoubted historical facts and solid argument, as any other event in history. In these days of unreasoning skepticism, flippant in denials and audacious in its pretensions, it is refreshing to follow the argument of one, who, confining himself to the universally accepted rules of evidence, irrefutably establishes the conclusion that when "the Apostles with great power gave their witness of the Resurrection of the Lord Jesus," they were not following "cunningly devised fables," but were testifying to the most significant fact in the history of the world.

2. *History of the Town of Shirley, Massachusetts, from its Earliest Settlement to A.D. 1882.* By Seth Chandler. In Three Parts. Shirley, Mass. Published by the Author. 1888. 8vo. pp. 744.

There never need be a handsomer book come from any press than this, concerning which we wish to say a few words, — more by way of bringing it to the notice of lovers of local history, the source of all reliable general statements respecting the State or Nation, than to offer any elaborate remarks upon its contents. The materials for this history were slowly and carefully collected, "and no assertion has been hazarded without good authority as to its accuracy, especially when it has come through the uncertain channel of tradition." A resident of Shirley for half a century, the author enjoyed the best advantages for collecting and sifting evidence, and has done ample justice to the Civil and Ecclesiastical History of the Town, as well as to the Genealogies of the families of the early settlers. Shirley men had an honorable part in the War for Independence, as also in the suppression of the Rebellion nearly a century later; and some few participated in the brief revolt known as Shay's Rebellion, a very comprehensive sketch of which is given by Mr. Chandler. The Ecclesiastical portion of the history, besides recording the planting and growth of the various sects common to most New England towns, also embraces a full description of the

Shakers, their numbers, early struggles, industries, and religious tenets and rites. The Genealogical tables show great care, and preserve, as otherwise they would not be perpetuated, the history of many families. The book is beautifully illustrated with a map of the town, views of residences and manufactories, and portraits of eminent citizens. The more such local works are increased the more reliable will be our future general histories; and to all who contemplate telling the story of their own town, we commend Mr. Chandler's History of Shirley as affording a first-class model.

8. Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, containing Papers and Proceedings for June and December, 1883. Published for the Society by the Secretary, H. G. Mitchell, 12 Somerset St., Boston. 8vo. pp. 160. Price to Subscribers, \$3.00.

We have here a valuable collection of papers on Biblical Literature and Exegesis, prepared by the best Biblical scholars in America. The topics are the following: The Argument E Silentio, with special reference to the Religion of Israel, by Prof. C. A. Briggs, D.D.; Romans ix-xi., by Prof. E. P. Gould; The Historical Testimony of the Prophet Zephaniah, by Prof. Henry Ferguson; The Independent Legislation of Deuteronomy, by Prof. E. C. Bissell, D.D.; Recent Discussions of Romans ix. 5, by Prof. Ezra Abbott, D.D., LL.D.; The Readings, *Ἑλληνας* and *Ἑλληνιστάς*, Acts xi. 20, by Prof. B. B. Warfield, D.D.; Ænon near to Salim, by Prof. Wm. Arnold Stevens; and The Syriac Manuscript of the Union Theological Seminary of New York, by Prof. Isaac H. Hall, Ph. D.; together with various brief notes on passages of Scripture.

The articles are all interesting and instructive, and it is difficult to determine which is the most valuable. In considering the Argument E Silentio, Prof. Briggs makes many clear statements, based on most conclusive reasoning. For example, in noticing certain criticisms on Bp. Warburton's argument for the Divine Legation of Moses, based on the silence of the Hebrew Lawgiver in regard to future rewards and punishments, the Professor avers that the Bishop "is certainly correct in his statement that the Pentateuchal codes are silent as to a future state of rewards and punishments, and that this silence was designed." And he adds these significant suggestions:

"It is an evidence of great weakness in any religion to show extreme anxiety as to the future life. This was the worst feature in the Egyptian religion. The study of Biblical Eschatology, in its development in the Scriptures, makes it evident that in the entire course of Biblical history, the other religions with which the Biblical religion was brought in contact were more elaborate in Eschatology than the Biblical religion. We also believe it to be a fact that the Eschatology of the Christian Church has derived its material very largely from other religions than the religion of the Old and New Covenants. Biblical Eschatology is much simpler than the Eschatology that has prevailed in the Christian Church. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the silence of the Pentateuch as to a future state of rewards and punishments was designed in order that the people of Israel might devote themselves entirely to the doing of the divine will in this life, and thereby receive the blessing or the curse in accordance with their deserts."

In Prof. Gould's exegesis of the ninth, tenth and eleventh chapters of Romans, much light is thrown on that important portion of Scripture, especially on the significance of the faith which is made a condition of salvation. It is far from being an indefinable, mysterious process, and equally far from being a reliance on the death of Christ; but it covers a broad and intelligible range, and is chiefly based and incited on the resurrection of Jesus.

"In the early preaching of Jesus, it is faith in the good news that the kingdom of God is at hand; in the early preaching of the Apostles, it is belief in Jesus as the Messiah; in the first Epistle of John, it is belief in Jesus as the Son of God; and here, it is belief in the resurrection, while in the Epistle to the Hebrews the varied faith of the Old Testament saints is described as saving. There is no dogmatic restriction of faith, as if it were the effect of one truth upon God that gave faith its efficacy; but a wide range is given to it, showing that it is the effect of all great truth to renew and regenerate man that gives faith its importance."

Our limits forbid a particular notice of many interesting and instructive features of the remaining papers; but we cannot refrain from calling special attention to the late Prof. Abbott's learned paper on Recent Discussions of Romans ix. 5, "Whose are the fathers, and of whom is Christ as concerning the flesh, who is over all, God blessed forever." In the *Journal* of the Society for 1881, Dr. Abbott had published an article which has provoked no little discussion in England. In that discussion several criticisms occurred on the following marginal note in the Revised Version: "*Some modern interpreters place a full stop after flesh, and translate, He who is God over all be (is) blessed forever: or, He who is over all is God, blessed forever. Others punctuate, flesh, who is over all. God be (is) blessed forever.*" Canon Cook speaks of it as "one of the most pernicious and indefensible innovations of rationalistic criticism;" and again as "the very painful and offensive note." Dr. Gifford, with no little show of learning, in his comment on the text in the *Speaker's Commentary*, "argued for retaining the Trinitarian view of the passage: and so much to the delight of Canon Cook, that the latter sent a challenge to Canon Kennedy, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, to meet the arguments of Dr. Gifford. In a published sermon, growing out of the challenge, Prof. Kennedy thus translates the last part of Romans ix. 5, "And of whom *is* the Christ as concerning flesh. He who is over all *is* God, worthy to be praised forever. Amen." Prof. Abbott remarks that "there is no grammatical difficulty in this construction;" and adds:

"Professor Kennedy is a devout believer in the doctrine of the Trinity and the deity of Christ; and one cannot help admiring the conscientiousness and sturdy honesty which lead him, in the pure love of truth, to defend an unpopular view of this mooted passage. He speaks feelingly of 'that mischievous terrorism, which, like carbonic dioxide in a crowded and closed room, pervades and corrupts with its stifling influence our British theological atmosphere.' 'Men,' he says, 'who judge of this verse as I do, and who publish and defend that judgment as I do, know that they have to encounter the open rage of a few, the suppressed displeasure of a great many, and the silence of masses, who, whatever they may think on one side or the other, yet for various private reasons consider "golden silence" the safe course.'

One of the most important papers, we ought to add, is Prof. Bissell's on "The Independent Legislation of Deuteronomy." As against the criticism which assigns this portion of the Pentateuch to a period some eight centuries later than the time of Moses, Dr. Bissell adduces the law concerning "seduction to idolatry," "the appointment of judges and officers" to those cities which their God is on the point of giving them, "the punishment of Hebrew idolaters," "the law of the king," "the prophets," "the removing of landmarks," "preparation for battle," "the treatment of hostile cities that are not of Canaan," "purification for murder," "the commission for the destruction of Amalek," and several others, as showing that such legislation is Mosaic; reasoning which, he declares, "bears with equal force against the theory that the book of Deuteronomy has undergone any special revision, in a period subsequent to Moses. There is neither in form, spirit or language, any valid evidence whatever of any such revision in the series of laws we have passed under review."

We are not advised that this *Journal* is put upon the market for general sale, but we are confident that its circulation ought not to be restricted to the comparatively narrow circle of the members of the Society.

4. *Thoughts on Holiness.* By Mark Guy Pearse, author of "Daniel Quorn," "Mr. Horn and His Friends," "Cornish Stories," etc. Introduction by Rev. W. McDonald. Boston. McDonald & Gill. 16mo. pp. 219. 50 cents.

This is an eminently wholesome and practical work on a subject which, technically considered, provokes much controversy, — the doctrine and experience of entire sanctification. It is not properly a dogmatic or theological discussion, but an earnest effort to induce, by a presentation of the highest motives, obedience to the divine command for holiness, likeness to God. The author regards all low motives to religion as mischievous and dishonoring to the Gospel, and vigorously insists that, "Religion means first of all *righteousness* — that first, not escape from hell, not getting to heaven, not being happy, but *being saved from sinning*. We cannot afford to have any other thought of religion than this." "We are in the world," he says, "first of all *to be like God*. And because we are sons of God, we are to find in this relationship a power strong enough to order all our life's plans for the service and pleasure of our Father." And so holiness is defined as "the healthy development of this divine nature that is within us." The starting point to holiness is in the apprehension of the deep reality of our relationship to God: its foundation, strength and crowning beauty is reverent love and childlike trust; and the practical outcome of such holiness is, as respects ourselves, freedom from sin, and blessed communion with God; and as affects fellow-man, honesty in business, fidelity in citizenship, integrity in everything, and thinking of and acting towards all men with true brotherliness. Such sanctification, wholeness, holiness, the world sadly needs. We give our hearty God-speed to this little work in its mission of instruction and exhortation for securing such a divine result.

5. *Caedmon's Exodus and Daniel.* Edited from Grein. By Theodore W. Hunt, Ph.D., Professor of Rhetoric and English Language in Princeton College. Boston. Ginn, Heath & Co. 1883. 12mo. pp. 121.

This is Volume 2 of a series entitled, "A Library of Anglo-Saxon Poetry. The revival of interest in English Philology created a demand for the best specimens of the earliest English Poetry, and the publishers of this little work respond to the call by issuing two of the productions of the first Christian poet of England, Caedmon, a monk, who lived in the seventh century. His alliterative paraphrase of portions of the books of Exodus and Daniel, is bold and vigorous, and he is said by competent critics to be surpassed in sublimity by no writer in the language, except, perhaps, Milton. Mr. Hunt gives to this edition a General and Special Introduction, and a Glossary, and so provides for the understanding of the text as to make a book which must prove an invaluable aid in rendering the study of the Anglo-Saxon speech enjoyable.

6. *The Mystery of Creation and of Man: To which is added a New View of Future Punishment.* By L. C. Baker. Second Edition. Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1884. 16mo. pp. 229.

This is a volume of sermons, containing a singular mixture of truth and error, reason and nonsense. With some lofty ideas of God and of

man, the writer mingles many crudities and superstitions. Gravitation, steam, electricity, the winds and the waves, bodily diseases and infirmities, are regarded by him as the operations of good or evil spirits, "angels, principalities and powers." The new view of future punishment is an attempt to reconcile Universalism, Annihilation and Everlasting Punishment, by a theory that in some way the Gospel will eternally bless all the race, but will annihilate the essential elements of the manhood of the wicked, and in a perpetual sense of loss sinners will be endlessly punished. It will not be a very grievous thing to bear, since the resurrection of the unjust is an object of hope, but it will be a low type of life, out of which there will probably be no chance of escape, yet in which there will be reconciliation to God, although there is no further probation; a perpetual "consignment to those outer circles of life and being, which are far away from the central life and glory. But such eternal punishment might not involve eternal woe and agony, nor eternal hatred of God and rebellion against His will." The commonly received doctrine of conditional immortality is rejected, because it would give Satan the victory over God; the thought of endless torment is declared to be dishonorable to God's love and justice; but this new theory is put forth as a happy compromise which all can gladly adopt. But is Satan less victorious over God when he eternally debases manhood and robs it of power to serve its Maker? Is God any the less dishonored in perpetuating a type of being which He can but will not improve? And how long will human souls remain in a degraded condition, or what probation will they need, when they are reconciled to God?

7. Margaret Fuller Ossoli. By Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Boston. Houghton, Mifflin & Company. 1884. 16mo. pp. 328. \$1.25.

As the reading world well knows, this is not the first published Life of Margaret Fuller. One, entitled "Memoirs," was printed about the time of her death, thirty-two years ago, and has passed through three editions; and another, from the pen of Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, came from the press last year. These have given an impression of her which Mr. Higginson considers partial and incomplete. — that of a woman whose chief desire was self-culture. Her new biographer, thoroughly acquainted with her, familiar with all that has been published concerning her life, and having access to her journal and letters heretofore unused, brings her before us as one whose supreme desire was "a career of mingled thought and action, such as she finally found." She was not merely a devourer of books, but a woman of vigorous executive power, manifest in various ways for the improvement and help of others; and this most conspicuously at a time when she was most industrious and thorough in her efforts for self-culture. Thoughtful, filial, sisterly, self-sacrificing in her home, she there and then fitted herself by attaining a full and well-rounded womanhood, to be to her pupils what one of them so well describes:

"As she was powerful, so she was tender; as she was exacting she was generous. She demanded our best, and she gave us her best. To be with her was the most powerful stimulus, intellectual and moral. It was like the sun shining upon plants and causing buds to open into flowers. This was her gift, and she could no more help exercising it than the sun could help shining."

The manifestation of these traits in her character enable Mr. Higginson to place before us an instructive and thoroughly enjoyable biography; from the perusal of which we are filled with admiration of the intellectual force of a woman who had no peer while living, and whose place has not been taken by a superior since her departure from earth;

and what is better still, a woman strong in her affections, helpful to others, hoping always for the best, and daring to suffer or to do so that she might be a co-worker with the Infinite Goodness whose lavish bounty she beheld on every hand. Much of the source of her strength is suggested in Mr. Higginson's chapter on "Hereditary Traits," but more is probably intimated in what she tells us she learned in her childhood amid the beautiful hills, and wide, rich fields where she passed the days of her youth :

"Precious lessons of faith, of fortitude, of self-command, and of less selfish love. There the heart was awakened to sympathize with the ignorant, to pity the vulgar, and hope for the seemingly worthless; for a need was felt of realizing the only reality, the divine soul of this visible creation, which cannot err and will not sleep, which cannot permit evil to be permanent or its aim of beauty to be eventually frustrated in the smallest particular."

Those who have known Margaret Fuller as possessing only a cold, intellectual nature, a devourer of books, unsympathetic towards her kind, isolated except from a choice few who dwelt with her in the region of high ideas and the solitudes of Transcendentalism, will find in Mr. Higginson's pages a delightful revelation of a truly helpful and loving woman.

8. *The Liquor Problem in All Ages.* By Daniel Dorchester, D.D. New York. Phillips & Hunt. 1884. 8vo pp. 666. \$2.50.

This is not a book hurriedly thrown together under the spur of suddenly acquired zeal, but is the result of twenty years of thought and investigation, by one who is industrious and conscientious in research, and has established a reputation as an able and accurate statistician. It is a historical work, but abounds in sound argument and philosophy as well, and sketches in a pleasant manner, in brief biographies, the most important facts in connection with their temperance career, of the earnest men and women who have done heroic service in seeking to save their fellow-citizens from intemperance.

In the First Part of the volume we have a statement in regard to the drinking customs of nations of the most remote antiquity, as also of those in our own time; of the earliest and most common intoxicants which have been and are now in use; and of the manner in which various forms of religion have fostered and encouraged drinking habits. These are interesting and instructive chapters, putting in comparatively small compass facts which have heretofore been recorded in fragments only, in numerous volumes, not within reach of the ordinary reader.

The Second Part treats of the Temperance Reformation as manifest in three periods, — the Inception, 1785–1825; Organization and Advancement, 1826–1860; and the Latest Phases, 1860–1883. From the first pledge not to drink to excess, to the latest effort for total abstinence; from license in various forms to Constitutional Prohibition; and from the old sophistry that a little is good to ward off disease, to the latest utterances of the highest intelligence and the wisest skill in the medical world that alcohol is never necessary in a healthy body, the advances have been slow but logically necessitated; resisted by greed and selfishness, hampered by the faithlessness and tricks of politicians, yet the actual and undisguised evils of intemperance grow more and more manifest, and the day hastens when the "gigantic crime of crimes" must disappear.

Dr. Dorchester has greatly enriched his book with several colored diagrams illustrating the relative progress of intemperance to the popu-

lation of Great Britain and the United States, and bringing vividly to view many economic aspects of the great curse. The portraits and other pictures scattered through the book may also enhance its value in the estimation of others, but are not to our liking. It would be a good thing if a copy of this book could be placed in every Public Library of the land, on every Lawyer's and Physician's table, and within reach of every Minister, for it contains just the information which all our citizens need, touching the great foe to the nation and to the citizen.

9. *Natural Law in the Spiritual World.* By Henry Drummond, F.R.S.E., F.G.S. New York. James Pott & Co. 1884. 12mo. pp. xxiv. 414. \$1.50.

This book is strikingly unique. The author treads no beaten path in quest of analogies between the Natural and the Spiritual, but with unmistakable originality sets forth the identity of the laws which govern the natural world and those which govern the spiritual world. They are, he contends, "the same laws," "dealing at one end with matter, at the other with spirit." How he was led to this view, he thus tells us :

"It has been my privilege for some years to address regularly two very different audiences on two very different themes. On week-days I have lectured to a class of students on the Natural Sciences, and on Sundays to an audience consisting for the most part of workmen, on subjects of a moral and religious character. I cannot say that this collocation ever appeared as a difficulty to myself, but to certain of my friends it was more than a problem. It was solved to me, however, at first, by what then seemed the necessities of the case — I must keep the two departments entirely by themselves. They lay at opposite poles of thought; and for a time I succeeded in keeping the Science and the Religion shut off from one another in two separate compartments of my mind. But gradually the wall of partition showed symptoms of giving way. The two fountains of knowledge also slowly began to overflow, and finally their waters met and mingled. The great change was in the compartment which held the Religion. It was not that the well there was dried; still less that the fermenting waters were washed away by the flood of Science. The actual contents remained the same. But the crystals of former doctrine were dissolved; and as they precipitated themselves once more in definite forms, I observed that the Crystalline System was changed. New channels also for natural expression opened, and some of the old closed up; and I found the truth running out to my audience on the Sundays by the week-day outlets. In other words, the subject-matter Religion had taken on the method of expression of Science, and I discovered myself enunciating Spiritual Law in the exact terms of Biology and Physics."

Just this is what we find him doing in the book before us. And the results are, a pleasant surprise, a revelation, a deepening reverence, a more assured faith, as chapter after chapter is read. The Introduction is taken up with a statement of general principles of law, the growth of the idea, and its gradual extension throughout every department of knowledge; and with the discovery, definition and application, of the Law of Continuity. Then follow chapters on Biogenesis, Degeneration, Growth, Death, Mortification, Eternal Life, Environment, Conformity to Type, Semi-Parasitism, Parasitism, and Classification. We have marked many passages in each of these chapters which we would like to lay before our readers, but limited space forbids. In the *General Review*, on "Are we Outgrowing Religion?" we have quoted largely from the chapter on Environment, — an extract which we hope may be read, and which we are sure will both interest and instruct.

The phraseology of the author, in several places, indicates his belief in and attempt to defend the old theology; but in the chapters on Semi-Parasitism and Parasitism, he discards some of the old notions and makes new forms and definitions. Where excellence of theme, thoroughness of treatment, and beauty and clearness of style are so uniform as in this book, it is difficult to indicate a preference for one part more than for another; but we cannot refrain from saying that to us the most

instructive and delightful chapter is the one on Conformity to Type, the text and keynote to which is the language of Paul: "Until Christ be formed in you."

Seven editions of this work have already appeared in England. The American edition is typographically the superior of the English, and it will be an indication of the good sense of American readers should many editions be demanded.

10. *The Ideas of the Apostle Paul Translated into their Modern Equivalents.* By James Freeman Clarke. Boston. James R. Osgood & Co. 1884. 16mo. pp. xiv. 486. \$1.60.

The idea and purpose of this work are happily described in its title. It is an interpretation, not a life, and only incidentally a commentary. The author vigorously arrays himself against the disparaging estimates of Paul put forth by Schoelcher, Renan and O. B. Frothingham, and giving to the great Apostle an estimate "greater than he has ever been stated to be, even by his most ardent followers," proceeds to put into modern language Paul's statement of principles which apply to the present and the future as well as to the past. He finds no antagonisms between the teachings of the Apostle and his Master, but a perfect harmony of purpose and effort to establish a Universal Religion. So clear and lucid is his style, his language always simple and plain, that the reader may be sure that he gets the author's idea, and cannot fail to understand what he intends to convey.

The technical language of so-called Orthodoxy obscures or perverts Paul's doctrines, and hence Dr. Clarke does good service in translating that language into modern terms which better express the Apostle's thoughts. The sections of the book designated: Antagonisms of Law and Grace, Paul's Ideas Concerning Sin, Justification by Faith, Doctrine of Divine Decrees, Atonement, are eminently successful attempts to show how much more fully and clearly Paul's ideas are manifest by being stated in language less technical, and of more common use. Paul's doctrine of the final Holiness of the Race is acknowledged, and with Dr. Clarke's well known ingenuousness, is prominently brought to light and made prominent. The Universalist preacher will find many valuable suggestions in Dr. Clarke's unfolding of Paul's thought.

11. *Due West, or Round the World in Ten Months.* By Maturin M. Ballou. Boston. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1884. 12mo. pp. 387.

This is a well-told story of a trip of forty thousand miles in a due westerly course from Boston, across the continent of America and the Pacific Ocean to Japan, thence to China, a thousand miles on the China Sea, across the Indian Ocean to Ceylon, thence to India, Egypt, Cairo and Alexandria, Italy, Malta, Gibraltar. France and England, and across the Atlantic to America. The peculiarities of people and of localities, the habits of men and of animals, the religions, education, products of the different lands and climes are described in a manner investing the whole with interest. There is not a dull page in the book. It is admirable reading for young and old.

12. *Brahmoism; or, History of Reformed Hinduism from its Origin in 1830, under Rajah Mahan Roy, to the Present Time. With a Particular Account of Keshub Chunder Sen's Connection with the Movement.* By Ram Chandra Bose, M.A., of Lucknow, India. New York. Funk & Wagnalls. 1884. 12mo. pp. 222. \$1.25.

This book is at once a history of the Theistic Movement in India, a

synopsis of its doctrines, and a criticism of its theories. The author is a native of India, a convert to Christianity, and a Methodist clergyman. Brahminism is pantheistic, Buddhism is Atheistic; but Rajah Mohun Roy held that if the oldest sacred books of the Hindoos, particularly the Upanishads, were correctly interpreted they would be found to teach monotheism. In 1830 he founded the Brahmo Somaj (Society of God). But his sect made little progress till in 1842, it was re-formed by Debendra Nath Tagore, who, adopting European plans of propagandism, gave it new life. Sixteen years later Keshub Chunder Sen joined the sect, and soon developed in it an eclectic theology, very largely biblical, at least in its two principal doctrines of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Before long the two parties in the Somaj separated, and the followers of Sen organized as the "Brahmo Somaj of India;" the followers of Roy calling themselves the "Adi (original) Brahmo Somaj." The final cause of the disruption was the demand of Sen that the following rules should be adopted, and the opposition and refusal of Tagore :

"1. That the external signs of caste distinctions — such as the Brahminical thread — should be no longer used.

"2. That none but Brahmos of sufficient ability and good moral character, who lived consistently with this profession, should be allowed to conduct the services of the Somaj.

"3. That nothing should be said in the Somaj expressive of hatred or contempt for other religions "

The doctrines advocated by Sen are set forth quite fully by Mr. Bose, some of their inconsistencies are well pointed out, some of their errors quite successfully combatted; but occasionally the critic indulges in an argument which is full of power to recoil on some of his own theories with equally destructive consequences. What might have been the result of some of Mr. Sen's theories and practices if he had not been removed by death, it is perhaps impossible to say; but before his decease, a rupture took place in his society which has left his followers in a very small minority. His position was, to say the least, a strangely inconsistent one. Miracles, he held, were impossible: yet he claimed to have special revelations from God, to receive from Him a Proclamation to the people of India, and a Dialogue with Him on the New Religion, both of which he published as direct messages from Heaven. He stoutly advocated the passage of an Act forbidding marriages under a certain age, and yet justified the marriage of his own daughter under that age; and he strangely mixed and mingled and observed Christian communion and baptism, with the Hindoo ceremony of Hom, the offering of clarified butter. His eclecticism led him to regard all religious rites as equally valuable and useful. Mr. Bose seems to do ample justice to Mr. Sen's patriotism and philanthropy, and he has made a valuable contribution to the sources of our knowledge of the new religion of India.

18. *The Giant's Robe*. By F. Austey. With Illustrations. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1884. 16mo. pp. 427.

The title of this book is suggested by a quotation from Shakespeare, placed on the title-page, — the words of Macbeth :

"Now does he feel his title
Hang loose upon him, like a giant's robe
Upon a dwarfish thief."

The hero of the story is a young school-teacher, who, having written

a novel possessing, in his opinion, high merit, an opinion not shared by the publishers, is entrusted by a friend whom duty calls out of the country, with a manuscript of a tale of rare excellence, which he is requested to examine, and if he deems it best, try to publish. While the manuscript is being considered by a publisher, tidings come of the loss of the steamer on which the friend sailed, with the certainty, as all suppose, that he is lost with it. Our hero, in negotiating for the publication of the book, is led to claim it as his own, and from thence his life is embittered by the fraud which he has practiced. The great success of the book adds to his remorse and bitterness. The return of its author plunges him into still greater trouble, and his exposure and punishment becoming more and more certain, he is burdened with unspeakable agony. The story is well told, many incidents connected with the original plot are worked up with skill; and *The Giant's Robe* is not only interesting as a story, but wholesome in its lesson on retribution for sin.

14. *Stories of the Old World.* By the Rev. Alfred J. Church, M.A. Boston. Ginn, Heath & Co. 1884. 16mo. pp. 354. 50 cents.

This is one of a series of "Classics for Children," intended for the use of scholars in Grammar Schools, between the ages of nine and fifteen. The plan is an excellent one, as it gives to school-children, the great majority of whom leave school long before they can have studied the Classics of our own and other tongues, an opportunity of knowing something of the standards in the world's literature. The volume before us contains the stories of the Argo, Thebes, the Iliad, Odyssey, and Ænëid. The publishers deserve encouragement in thus providing good reading for the young, calculated to develop their taste in the love of the best that has ever been produced.

15. *Cicero De Senectute (On Old Age).* Translated with an Introduction and Notes. By Andrew P. Peabody. Boston. Little, Brown & Co. 1884. 12mo. pp. xxxi., 67.

This delightful work on Old Age is here put into a new and charming English dress by Dr. Peabody, who seems to have been impelled to the task in his own declining years *con amore*. The Introduction gives us a view of Cicero's life at the time he penned this treatise, his public and domestic troubles, and his manner of seeking to rise above them. Brief biographical sketches are also given of Atticus, to whom the treatise was addressed, and of Cato, Lælius and Scipio. The translation is from the text of Otto, and clearly represents the tone and style of the original. The appended Notes are full of valuable information, greatly aiding the reader to a knowledge of Cicero's time, and the historic allusions and philosophical theories so noticeable in the text.

16. *Sermons Preached Chiefly in the College Chapel.* By James Walker, D.D., LL.D., late President of Harvard College. Two Volumes in One. I. Reason, Faith and Duty (Published in 1876); II. Sermons (Published in 1861). Boston. American Unitarian Association. 1884. 12mo. pp. xiii. 454; v. 387. \$1.00.

A volume of sermons of great excellence, clear in statement, full of thought, expressed in admirable rhetoric. Dr. Walker was a man of great strength of mind and character, and whatever he did for others was done with the purpose of making clear to them his convictions of right and duty. These sermons were for the most part preached to the students of Harvard College. As will be seen, this is not their first publication. In their present form they are within the reach of all, no better book having ever been put on the market at so low price. The publishers are doing good service to the public.

17. *The Temptation of Christ.* By George S. Barrett, B.A., Pastor of Prince's Street Congregational Church, Norwich. New York. Macmillan & Co. 1888. 16mo. pp. xii. 248. \$1.25.

This book is strictly Orthodox, according to the common standard of Orthodoxy. Christ had two natures, one susceptible to temptation, and the other in no way temptible. The former of these was assailed by a personal Devil, and the forty days' trial of Jesus in the wilderness was a conflict with "this malignant being who has usurped the power and rule of God in the world." Those who deny the personality of the devil are charged with "denying the authority of Christ," for Christ speaks of him as a person, calls him the devil, Satan, the Prince of this world. If the mere quotation of the words of Scripture, without seeking to understand their significance, settles this question, there are several other things which it will not do for us to deny, lest we deny the authority of Christ,—as for example, that the sun rises and sets, and that insanity is caused either by demons or by the moon. But Mr. Barrett, although an earnest man, is evidently no logician. He concedes too much, contradicts himself too often, takes too many untenable positions. "Man," he says, "needs temptation, because of the sinfulness of his nature;" but soon he declares that "man needs it, not because he is fallen and sinful, but because he is man;" and again, "an inward bias to evil is not even essential in our own case to the reality of temptation." So with reference to the temptation of Christ. Over and over he tells us that "all Christ's temptations came to Him not from within, but from without." But elsewhere he says that "the deadliest of the three" temptations of Christ "must necessarily have been visionary and subjective, for no one can imagine that there was any high mountain from the summit of which Christ could be shown 'all the kingdoms of the world;' or that if there was an elevation sufficiently high for such an impossible view, Christ could have seen with His bodily eyes such a prospect 'in a moment of time,' and if this temptation was mental and subjective without losing its reality, the rest of the temptations may have equally well been so too." And again, "we may, without irreverence, imagine the temptation as rising up within the soul of Christ, as our temptations arise within ourselves, as if it had sprung from the natural and lawful desires and necessities of His own bodily nature." Aside from these contradictions, the book conveys many valuable thoughts, and suggests much that will be profitable to the reader.

18. *Practical Essays.* By Alexander Bain, LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Logic in the University of Aberdeen. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1884. 12mo. pp. xvi. 888.

Prof. Bain's reputation as a scholarly writer on Mental and Moral Science, and on Education as a Science, is a guarantee that whatever he gives to the public will be the best of its kind. In the volume before us, made up in great part of Articles already contributed to Reviews, we have the discussion of many themes to which he has given special consideration, and on which he is regarded by many as an authority. In all there are nine papers or essays, all valuable and instructive,—two on Common Errors on the Mind: one on Civil Service Examinations, and one on the Classical Controversy, in both of which the author argues against the necessity of making a liberal and a practical education depend on the amount of Greek and Latin studied in Colleges and Universities. Another Essay, and a highly significant and valuable one, is a chapter omitted from the author's "Science of Education," and is mainly devoted to a consideration of the methods of self-educat-

tion by means of books. It is fresh and suggestive on this quite hackneyed theme, and cannot fail to be of great service to such as have possessed meagre advantages at school. The *Essay on Religious Tests and Subscriptions*, with the appended voluminous notes, has so greatly interested us that we have marked several passages containing historical memoranda on the subject for use in the next number of the *QUARTERLY*. The remaining papers are on *Metaphysics and Debating Societies*, *The University Ideal — Past and Present*, and *The Procedure of Deliberative Bodies*.

19. *Mothers in Council*. New York. Harper & Brothers. 1884, 16mo. pp. 194.

A unique and charming book, purporting to be a series of essays on subjects of interest to mothers, given and discussed at a "Mothers' Circle" at "Abingdon," wherever this may be. The Preface is dated from "Washington County, Va.," but the New England woman's views are apparent on every page. The subjects considered are Obedience, Self-Support for Daughters, Unconscious Influence, Amusements, Books for Children, Holidays and Sundays, Accuracy, Character, and several others. These subjects are discussed, not exhaustively, but in such hints and suggestions as cannot fail to provoke the reader's thought, and stimulate to a deeper impression of the significance of the theme. We give what strikes us as an exceedingly happy illustration of this in the following selection from the essay on Self-Control :

"One day, when I was a very little girl, I was watching my mother make strawberry preserves. I can see the great kettle of boiling liquid now, clear as rubies. Beside the stove stood a large milk-pan, containing some squash for 'company' pies, with a plenty of milk and eggs in it. 'Now, Bridget,' said my mother, at last, in a satisfied tone, 'it is done; take the kettle off.' This was accomplished; and then, with almost incredible stupidity, the 'help' actually emptied the strawberries into the squash! My mother turned her head just too late. She was quick and impulsive, but there escaped from her mouth only a despairing 'Oh, Bridget!' Then, as she saw the girl's instantly regretful face, she uttered no angry reproaches, no useless lamentations. No doubt, when my tired mother, who was not strong, (I lost her at fifteen) went upstairs to rest, she felt disheartened, and thought that her preserves and squash, her time and labor, had all been wasted; but probably she never did for me a more valuable morning's work than when she gave me that unconscious lesson in sweet self-control."

BOOK NOTES.

Parchment-Paper Series. The Parlor Muse, a Selection of *Vers de Société* from Modern Poets. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 80 cts. A pleasant collection of Society Poems, simple and humorous, put up in neat and inexpensive style.

Pictures of Life and Character. By John Leech. From the collection of Mr. Punch. Another book of the same series. Published by the Appletons. 80 cts.

Hebraica, A Monthly Journal in the interests of Hebrew Study. Vol. I. Commencing with March. Chicago: The American Publication Society of Hebrew. \$2.00 per year. A new magazine that cannot fail to be of great service to students of the Hebrew language. Its managing editor is William R. Harper, Ph. D., Professor of Hebrew and the Cognate Languages in the Chicago Baptist Union Theological Seminary; associate editors, Herman L. Strack, Ph. D., Th. Lic., Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin, Paul Haupt, Ph. D., Professor of Assyriology in the University of Göttingen, and Professor of the Semitic Languages in the John Hopkins University.

The Andover Review. Published Monthly. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Annual subscription, \$3.00. This new Religious Review, under the editorial charge of Professors Egbert C. Smith, William J. Tucker, George Churchill, George Harris, and Edward Y. Hincks, of the Andover Theological Seminary, is the mouth-piece of the New Theology; and, as hardly need be said, is conducted with great ability. Its editorials are vigorous and radical, yet kindly and catholic in spirit, and cannot fail to profit its readers. The contributors make up a well-varied table of contents, and the Archæological Notes are of great value.

The Arguments Against Woman Suffrage, by Mrs. Clara T. Leonard, Hon. George G. Crocker, Francis Parkman, Esq., and Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells. Carefully examined and completely refuted by D. P. Livermore. Melrose: 1884. 16mo. pp. 64. The arguments here considered were made before a Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature. Mr. Livermore's work is well done; the sophistries are fully exposed, and opposition to Woman Suffrage is shown to be based on wild fancies or perverted facts.

A Review of Dr. McKim's Sermons on Future Punishment. By D. M. Hodge, Pastor of the Second Universalist Church, New York City. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York: 1882. In the Book Notes for April mention was made of Dr. McKim's Sermons. Rev. Mr. Hodge, apprehensive that it would seem unmanly in him to leave such misstatements of the faith dear to him and his people, unanswered, in the city where Dr. McKim had made them, preached in review the sermons in this pamphlet. As becomes a good soldier, he has wielded a trenchant blade against the ignorance and misrepresentation which characterize Dr. McKim's effort as a disciple of Matthew Hale Smith, who draws for his alleged facts and pretended arguments on the long-ago refuted statements of his unscrupulous guide.

Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Washington Home. Located at 41 Waltham Street, Boston. 1884. This Institution for the recovery of inebriates was the first ever established. Closing the twenty-sixth year of its effort, in which it has, with greater or less success, treated 370 patients, making a total of 7909 cared for by it since its organization, it is enabled to give many lessons of wisdom, based on such ample experience. The Superintendent, Dr. Alfred Day, who has given twenty-seven years to the study of inebriety as manifest in the thousands who have been placed under his care, here utters some most significant words on the many evils of intemperance, the unwise laws, and the foolish and wicked customs which foster it. It is enough to fill one with the most fearful apprehensions for the near future of our State and Nation, to be thus confronted with the facts in relation to this evil, and the indifference of the people concerning it. We are in no danger of exaggerating its influence and power.

Broken English: A Frenchman's Struggle with the English Language. Amusing as a narrative, instructive as a handbook of French Conversation. By E. C. Dubois. In English and French. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1884. 16mo. pp. 70. 50 cts. Just what its title indicates, an amusing and instructive illustration, by means of anecdote, of the blunders of a Frenchman over English idioms.

Philosophical Series, No. 6. Agnosticism of Hume and Huxley, with a notice of the Scottish School. By James McCosh, D.D., LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1884. 12mo. pp. iv., 70. A valuable contribution to our knowledge of the peculiarities of life and processes of thought of the great doubter, David Hume, and of the manner in which Huxley interprets the philosopher and augments the power and influence of his doubts. Dr. McCosh does his work here as elsewhere, in a vigorous manner, in elevated style, and with wonderfully clear and keen analysis.

Memoir of Edwin Hubbell Chapin, D.D., LL.D. By Rev. Anson Titus. Boston: 1884. 8vo. pp. 18. An admirable specimen of condensation of facts, giving leading incidents in the life of Dr. Chapin, a just description of his varied abilities, and an appreciative tribute to his worth as a man and a preacher.

The A. M. E. Church Review. Managing Editor, B. T. Tanner, D.D., Vol. 1. July, 1884. No. 1. Subscription price, \$1.50 per year. This first essay in producing a Quarterly Magazine by the African Methodist Episcopal Church, results in 77 well-filled pages of far more than mere ordinary matter, some of it equal in excellence to that produced by any of its contemporaries. The publishers state their object to be "to give outlet to the negro scholarship (a) of the A. M. E. Church (b) and of the world." They deserve, and we hope will win, great success.

All the works noticed under the head of "Contemporary Literature" and "Book Notes" will be round on sale at our Publishing House.

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Rev. A. A. Miner, D.D., LL.D., Ex-President of Tufts College, writes :

"Allow me, though somewhat tardily, to express my very hearty thanks for the copy of 'The Consolations of Science,' which you were kind enough to send me. The title at once struck me as original and vastly suggestive; and I find the work fully to bear out the promise of the title. The work has the great merit of doing justice to the unbelief of the age, and leading the inquirer into fresh and unexplored fields. Even old truths in science are often presented in new lights and made to contribute to the highest phases of spirituality and faith. There can be no doubt that the world is made to wear a far brighter face, in the light of your discussions than it has commonly worn. One is surprised not only at the varied learning and profound study and research the book exhibits, but equally at the original and ingenious application of the treasures brought forth in the solution of the problems of faith and hope. While it cannot fail to be a welcome instructor to all, it will possess especial value to those who are seeking light for the guidance of others."

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A HISTORY.

BY RICHARD EDDY, D.D.

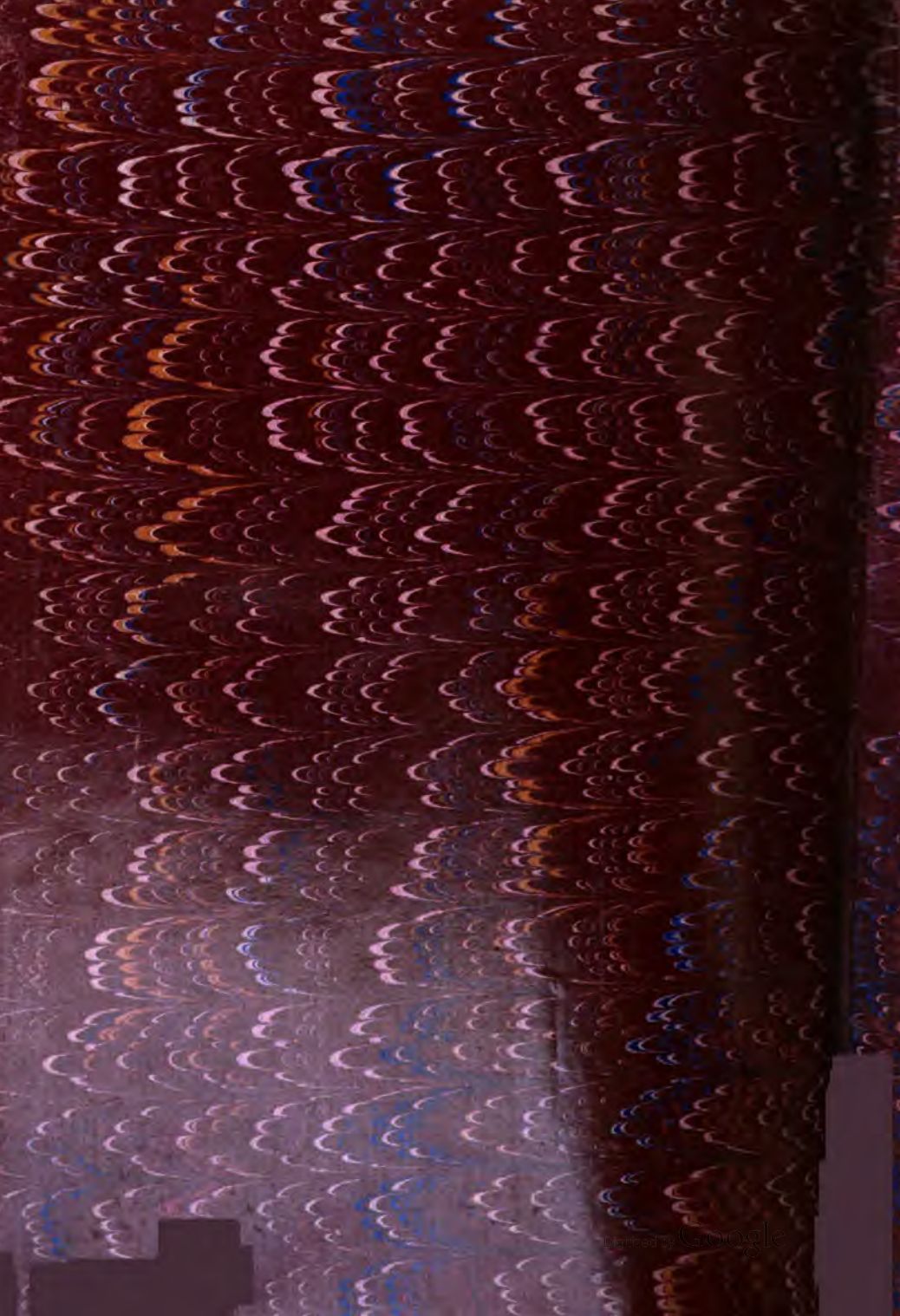
Volume I. 1636---1800.

We are happy to announce that this valuable book has long been in preparation, will be issued early in October. As you noticed, the History covers a period of one hundred and sixty-four years, running back of the first preaching of John Murray, one hundred and thirty-four years ; in which period the author finds traces of Universalism in America among the Mystics, Dunkers, Moravians, Episcopalians, and Congregationalists.

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